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MEMOIRS AND SERVICES

OF

THREE GENERATIONS

GENERAL JOSEPH CILLEY
First New Hampshire Line. War of the Revolution

JONATHAN LONGFELLOW
Father of Sarah, wife of General Joseph Cilley

COLONEL JOSEPH CILLEY
U. S. Senator and Officer in the War of 1812

HONORABLE JONATHAN CILLEY
Member of Congress from Maine

COMMANDER GREENLEAF CILLEY
War with Mexico and War of 1861

GENERAL JONATHAN P. CILLEY
First Maine Cavalry, War of the Rebellion

REPRINT FROM THE COURIER-GAZETTE

ROCKLAND, MAINE
1909

God of our fathers, known of old,—
  Lord of our far-flung battle line—
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
  Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,—
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

GEN. JONATHAN P. CILLEY

The Cilley-Graves Affair

Being a Concise Account of the Tragedy Which Ended the Career of a Famous Member of a Famous New England Family.

From time to time in the last 50 years items and brief articles have been published in the local press relating to the famous duel in which Jonathan Cilley of Thomaston was killed by William J. Graves of Kentucky. Next to the duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, no event of the character ever attracted more attention, than that beween Graves and Cilley, and it is accordingly a matter of national interest, to say nothing of the connections which make it of pronounced local importance.

The Lewiston Journal a few weeks ago published a short account of the affair, but with this issue The Courier-Gazette publishes an installment of the first story which has ever been compiled especially for the convenience of the newspaper readers of the present day. The Journal's story, with some corrections is used as the foundation of this article, and the cuts published by that paper have been remodelled for the purpose of illustration.

One of the most noted families in all New England is the one from which Gen. Jonathan P. Cilley of Rockland originated. For more than a full century not a single member of that family has been unknown to fame, and some of them have written their names high up in the temple of fame. While dating back several hundred years the family tree has been most conspi uous since the time of Gen. Joseph Cilley of Revolutionary fame. This patriot fought at the battles of Lexington, Stony Point, Monmouth and Bemis's Heights, and with his command was present at the capture of Burgoyne. After the close of the Revolution he was commissioned major general. In the engagement of Saratoga he acquired national fame. The enemy had posted a piece of artillery in a position that was doing great damage to his regiment. Becoming irritated at the havoc, Col. Joseph called his regiment around him and boldly charged the position, capturing the piece. In order to encourage the men to hold fast to their prize the gallant colonel ordered the gun loaded and then leaping upon it and drawing his sword he shouted:

"I now consecrate this gun to the cause of American liberty!"

The effect was electrical and the position was held, while the incident became one of the traditions of the war. At the close of the war he re-

turned to his home in Nottingham, N. H., where the remainder of his life was passed in peace and quiet.

Battle of Monmouth

We present as a matter of historic interest, a letter written by General Joseph Cilley, who took part in the Revolutionary battle of Monmouth—the famous battle at which Washington swore roundly at Gen. Lee:

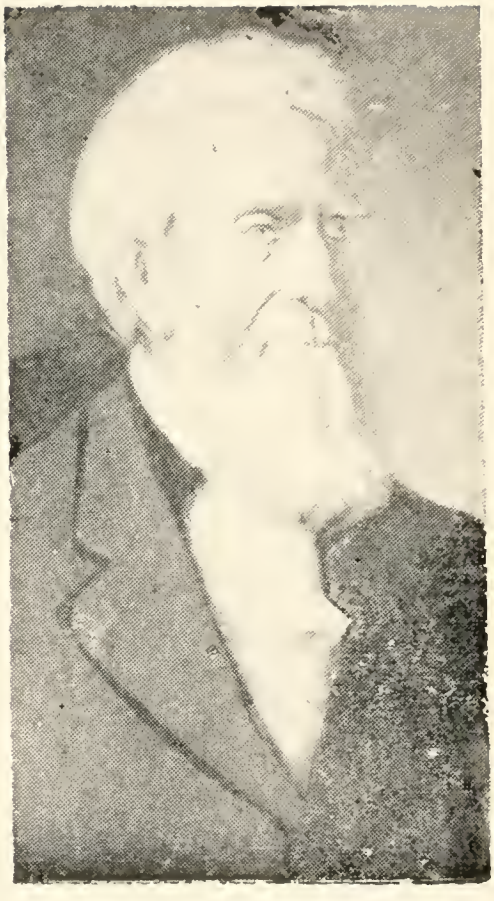
Camp 4 miles above White Plains,
New York, July 22, 1778.

Col. Thomas Bartlett, Nottingham, New England, State of New Hampshire —Dear Colonel:—Your favor of the 10th of July came safe to hand by Major Titcomb: am much obliged to you for its contents. I left Valley Forge the 18th of June with the right wing of the army under the command of Gen Lee, in pursuit of the enemy who left Philadelphia the 18th. The whole of the army pursued with his Excellency General Washington. Crossed the Delaware at a ferry called Cold Corels, when it was thought best to send over several parties to harass the enemy's rear. Gen. Scott was sent first with 1600 picked men from the whole army in order to watch the enemy's motions. I was ordered on this party. Soon it was thought best to give the enemy battle. General Lee was sent on this errand. He called in General Scott, in short he had 5,000 Continental troops besides a number of militia. On the 28th of June he was ordered to attack the enemy with his party, and that General Washington with the whole army would support him.

We were at a small town, called Englishtown, about four miles from Monmouth Courthouse, where the enemy lay. We began our march before sunrise; proceeded towards the field of battle; came to the plain—the enemy gave way, seeming to be in great confusion without making any opposition, except some scattering musketry and a few field-pieces playing on both sides at long range—when to my great surprise I saw the right wing of our party giving away in great confusion. There was a morass in our rear. I thought whether it was not intended to cross that in order to take better ground. There was a wood in the rear of the party I was with. We were ordered to cross and form in that wood, where we lay some time. The enemy observing this, halted, came to the right-about and pursued us about two miles, when General Washington came up, ordered our party to make a stand to check the enemy, while the army could form, which was done immediately. The severest cannonading ensued as ever was in America. Our men behaved with great fortitude. The cannonading lasted two or three hours. I was in the front line of our army on the left wing.

His excellency ordered me to take the battalion I then commanded, consisting of 350 rank and file, detached from Poor's, Patterson's, Larnard's and Varnam's brigades, with Lieut. Col. Dearborn and Major Thayer who were with me, to go and see what I could do with the enemy's right wing, which was found in an orchard in our front. I marched on towards them until I came within about forty rods, when I ordered my battalion to form the line of battle, which was done. The enemy began a scattering fire. I ordered my men to advance, which they did in good order. When the enemy saw that we were determined to push close to them, they gave way and took post in scouts of woods and gave me a

GEN. J. CILLEY
Colonel 1st N. H. Line in the Revolution, Great-Great-Grandfather of J. P. Cilley.



COL. JOSEPH CILLEY
U. S. Senator and Officer in War of 1812, Uncle of J. P. Cilley.

very heavy fire under the cover of several pieces of artillery. I advanced within a few rods; gave them a heavy fire which put them in confusion. They ran off. I killed a number on the field, took between twenty and thirty prisoners and should have pursued further but the extreme heat of the weather was such that several of my men died with the heat. We took possession of the field; about 300 of the enemy dead, with several officers, among them was Col. Monckton who commanded the first battalion granadiers. They retreated that night about 11 o'clock in great confusion, leaving at the court house five wounded officers and about 40 soldiers. We should have pursued, but our army was so overcome with the heat that the General thought not advisable to pursue.

Desertions still continue from the enemy. At the least computation their army has weakened 2,500 since they left Philadedphia. I think Clinton has brought himself into a fine hobble. He has now a French fleet in his front and General Washington in his rear. I think we shall "Burgoyne" him in a few weeks, which God grant may be the case. Doubtless the particulars of the strength of the French fleet will come to your hand long before this, or I would write you some account of them. This may suffice. They are able to flog all the British sheep in America.

My love to your wife and mother, I am, sir, with respect, your friend and humble servant, J. Cilley.

N. B.—General Lee's behavior is now on trial for his conduct. How it will turn is uncertain. It is my opinion that if he had behaved well we should have destroyed the major part of Clinton's army.

Anti-Slave Senator.

Nearly as famous was his grandson, Col. Joseph Cilley, whose life has well been portraited by John R. French, ex-sergeant-at-arms of the U. S. Senate. He wrote:

Now was the first election of a senator of the United States on the direct anti-slavery issue.

Colonel Joseph Cilley was his name and title; a name honored in all the history of New England; a title won on the battle-fields of his country. He was a Democrat, but no longer in party affiliation, for his Democracy knew no color line, and in principle was as universal as the human family. He had not the eloquence of Woodbury and Hubbard and Pierce, and nothing of their elegance of manners, and, what was of vital importance in this hour, nothing of their obsequiousness of spirit.

The gallant General Cilley, of Revolutionary fame, was his ancestor. "Cilley of Maine," the noble young man who dared some utterance in the House of Representatives hostile to slavery, whereupon Henry Clay marked him as "a dangerous man to have about Congress," and so set Graves of Kentucky up to his butchering on the duel field of Bladensburg—he was this new senator's youngest brother.

Joseph Cilley, at his election to the Senate, was an old man. Not only broken and shattered by the contests of three-score years and ten, but by the strife of his country's battle-fields, in which he had borne gallant part. He was with Scott and Miller in all the bloody conflicts of the Canadian border in the war of 1812; and from those fields he had come with but one eye left, and his body weighted with the

leaden bullets of his country's enemy.

Such was the man, the half blind, limping hero whom New Hampshire sent to the Senate, as the vanguard of liberty, on the 13th of June in the year 1846. A new type of a man in that body. Ah! and so different from men lately there from New Hampshire. No one would lead him to his seat. The doorkeepers, usually so obsequious, turned their backs to this man. But he found the vacant seat belonging to New Hampshire, laid his trusty staff across the desk, and sat down with the air of rightful possession. He looked about the hall—scowling upon him from all sides—and though he had but one eye, that blazed with such manly independence that no shrinking fellow that day thought him blind. His voice was not like that of his predecessors. It had not been trained in the schools, nor had it learned the dulcet tones of suppliant waiting in the salons of the rich and haughty. It had been exercised in sterner duties. At Lundy's Lane, at Chippewa, and at Niagara, amid the roar of cannon it shouted defiance to British soldiery, and called his countrymen to the deadly charge. Its honest tones, rough they may have been, were now lifted in the nation's Senate for Liberty, unconditional and universal, without concealment and without compromise.

Right of Petition.

He spoke for a state which had met with a "new birth." He demanded the right of petition, and commenced presenting them by the thousand, asking for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories Speak he would, and demanded the freedom of speech for every citizen. He planted himself on the Declaration of Independence, and called the nation to judgment. He stood there for a fact—namely, the determination of the people that slavery should go down.

He stood there alone, shattered and broken in limb and body, this old soldier, but his veins throbbed with rare blood; the blood of one of the most gallant families of the state: blood which baptized Revolutionary fields, and with its purple gore marked the front of every battle of the nation from Bunker Hill to Appomattox. Of the more than three-score senators around the board he alone stood for Liberty.

But beneath that national sounding-board, which Charles Sumner in after years described as "the sounding-board of the nation's pulpit," he knew his voice would find reverberations which would carry it through the land, and that in good time others would come trooping to his side, until the forlorn hope he led would become the inspiring shout of the mighty majority.

Insolence and flattery alike were wasted upon this man. No clamor could alarm him. Patronage could not sway him. "Social influence," always so abounding at Washington, in all its riotous luxury couldn't sweep high enough to reach the serene atmosphere of this trusty soldier.

The day Joseph Cilley took his seat in the Senate, slavery was doomed. Here an old, crippled soldier had come to ring its knell; and he bid them listen to the tolling; peradventure through counsel and legislation the Nation and Liberty might be saved, and there remain no occasion for the arbitrament of war.

But the slaveholder was proud. He defied God and sneered at his prophet. He would not listen to the warning un-

JONATHAN CILLEY

Killed in a Duel by Graves of Kentucky, Feb. 24, 1838.

til it broke upon his startled ear from the brazen throats of a thousand cannon.

Joseph Cilley was the first of his party in the Senate of the United States. This gallant old soldier, limping from battle wounds, half blind by the carnage of war, led the way to the Senate for that grand company of statesmen who, hearing his bugle call, followed after, until they were a majority in the highest forum of the earth, and emblazoning upon the pages of the world's history its most luminous record, made this nation a republic of freedom.

Jonathan Cilley.

The member of this family who possesses the deepest and most melancholy interest for the people of Maine is Jonathan Cilley who was shot in a duel with Congressman Graves of Kentucky in 1838. This gentleman was born in Nottingham, N. H., in 1802, and was graduated from Bowdoin college in the celebrated class of 1825. Even then he was noted for his brilliant talents and his oratorical powers marked him for a great career.

Immediately after quitting college young Cilley settled in the village of Thomaston and began the study of law in the office of the late Senator Ruggles. It was but natural that amidst such surroundings he should imbibe a love for politics, and in a short time he became thoroughly identified with the Democratic party and its policies. In 1829 he was admitted to the Lincoln bar and shortly afterward married Miss Deborah Prince, daughter of Hon. Hezekiah Prince of Thomaston. He then entered actively on the practice of his profession and by his superb ability soon gained a prominent position both as a lawyer and political leader.

In the latter line Mr. Cilley rose rapidly and soon became a member of the legislature. Here he served for five terms, part of which time he was speaker of the house and always its leader. By that time his reputation was so firmly established that in 1836, he received the nomination for Congress and secured a triumphant election in a district which at that time was strongly Whig in its political leanings. The campaign waged had been a bitter one and the glory of his triumph was more marked from the fact that he was opposed by a powerful section of his own party. Scars were made that even time could not heal, and in one sense his very victory carried with it the seeds of a fatal ending. The gloom of a dark pitfall lay across his path, and even the brilliancy of his triumph was clouded by the prophetic presentiment of some untimely fate. In speaking of the character and personal peculiarities of Mr. Cilley, at that time a college classmate, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote as follows:

Hawthorne's Tribute.

"In private intercourse, Cilley possessed a remarkable fascination. It was impossible not to regard him with the kindliest feelings, because his companions were intuitively certain of a like kindliness on his part. He had a power of sympathy which enabled him to understand every character and hold communion with human nature in all its varieties. He never shrank from the intercourse of man with man; and it was to his freedom in this particular that he owed much of his popularity. In a few words, let us characterize him at the outset of life as a young men of quick and powerful intellect; endowed with sagacity and tact, yet frank and

free in his mode of action, ambitious of good influence, earnest, active and persevering; with an elasticity and cheerful strength of mind which made difficulties easy, and the struggles with them a pleasure. Mingled with the amiable qualities which were like sunshine to his friends, there were harsher and sterner traits which fitted him to make head against an adverse world, but it was only at the moment of need that the iron framework of his character become perceptible.

"In the summer of 1837, a few months after his election to Congress, I met Mr. Cilley for the first time since early youth, when he had been to me almost as an elder brother. The few days which I spent in his neighborhood enabled us to renew our former intimacy. In his person there was very little change, and even that was for the better. He had an impending brow, deep-set eyes, and a thin and thoughtful countenance, which in his abstracted moments seemed to be almost stern. In the intercourse of society it was brightened with a kindly smile that will live in the recollection of all who knew him.

"His manners had not a fastidious polish, but were characterized by the simplicity of one who had dwelt remote from cities, holding free companionship with the yeomen of the land. I thought him as true a representative of the people as ever theory could portray; his earlier and latter habits of life, his feelings, partialities and prejudices were those of the common people; the strong and shrewd sense, which constituted so marked a feature of his mind was but a higher degree of the popular intellect. He loved the people and respected them, and was prouder of nothing than of his brotherhood with those who had intrusted their public interests to his care. His continual struggles in the political arena had strengthened his bones and sinews; opposition had kept him ardent; while success had cherished the generous warmth of his nature and assisted the growth both of his powers and sympathies. I was aware, indeed, that his harsher traits had grown apace with his milder ones—that he possessed iron resolution, indomitable perseverence, and an almost terrible energy—but these features had imparted no hardness to his character in private intercourse. In the hour of public need these strong qualities would have shown themselves the most prominent ones, and would have encouraged his countrymen to rally around him as one of their natural leaders."

Such is the pen portrait of Jonathan Cilley that has been given us by one of the most brilliant of his contemporaries and personal friends. The universal verdict even of his political enemies is that he was one of the most brilliant sons of Maine, and had it not been for his untimely end he would have been the worthy peer of the ablest men whose records adorn the history of our state. In the very beginning of his national fame he was cut down by the hand of a man who was no better than an assassin, and all the proud hopes of his brilliant future perished. Brief although his career may have been, his name is written high in the temple of fame and will long be treasured as one of the most brilliant that has added glory to our state and nation.

The following account of the fatal duel was written by Hon. Horatio King, late postmaster general, in his valuable work "Turning on the Light,"

which account has been pronounced by ex-Governor Hugh J. Anderson as the most complete ever written.

The Fatal Duel.

A charge of corruption against a Senator in Congress, made by "The Spy in Washington," Matthew L. Davis, correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer, was the basis of the trouble which led to the fatal rencounter. He was the intimate friend and biographer of Aaron Burr, and while acting as correspondent at the capital, he was excluded, I remember, from the ladies' gallery on account of alleged gross immorality there. In a letter to his paper the charge referred to was set forth as follows:

"The more brief my statement the better it will be understood. It is in my power, if brought to the bar of either house, or before a committee, and process allowed me to compel the attendance of witnesses, to prove by the oath of a respectable and unimpeachable citizen, as well as by written documentary evidence, that there is at least one member of Congress who has offered to barter his services and his influence with a department or departments for a compensation. 'Why, sir,' said the applicant for a contract, 'if my proposition has merit, it will be received; if it has not, I do not expect it will be accepted.' And what do you think was the answer of the honorable member? I will give it to you in his own emphatic language: 'Merit?' said he; 'why, things do not go here by merit, but by pulling the right strings. Make it my interest and I will pull the strings for you.'"

The editor of the Courier and Enquirer, James Watson Webb, vouched for the character and standing of his correspondent, and called upon Congress promptly to initiate the investigation thus challenged, both as an act of justice to itself and the country. Whereupon Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, offered in the House of Representatives, on the 12th of February, a motion for a committee of inquiry, embodying in the preamble of his resolution both the above extract and the editorial comments thereon. The resolution gave rise to a warm debate, and resulted in a determination to bring Mr. Davis before the bar of the House. He appeared accordingly, and, having declared that the person alluded to in his letter was not a member of the House, he was discharged.

On the 13th of February, John Ruggles, Senator from (Thomaston) Maine, addressed a letter to the Washington Globe, stating that he had been informed that the charge referred to "was a blow aimed at him." In explanation, he said that a Mr. Jones, of New Jersey, had applied to him to draw up a specification and claim for a patent for a trunk-lock. He had consented to do it, "as it was a strictly professional matter." Subsequently he had agreed to take an assignment of one-fourth part of the patent for his services; the papers were drawn and assented to by Jones, but never executed, nor had any compensation ever been allowed for his services.

On the 16th of February, at Mr. Ruggles's request, a committee to investigate the charge against him was appointed in the Senate, and he was entirely exonerated.

In the debate on Mr. Wise's resolution, Mr. Cilley said:

"As the course proposed to be pursued on this occasion was novel and ex-

traordinary, he hoped the House would pause before it embarked in this business on such authority as was produced. This charge comes from the editor of a newspaper, and we all know that in a country where the press is free, few men can expect to escape abuse and charges of a similar description. Ordinarily, when we are about entering upon a business of this kind before a magistrate, a conservator of the peace, the charges submitted are obliged to be made distinctly, clearly, and under the solemnity of an oath; and why should we now depart from this well-known and well-settled rule? He knew nothing of this editor, but it was the same editor who had made grave charges against an institution of this country (the old United States Bank in 1831), and afterwards was said to have received facilities to the amount of fifty-two thousand dollars from the same institution and gave it his hearty support; he did not think his charges were entitled to much credit in an American Congress. If he has charges to make, let him make them distinctly and not vaguely; let him make them under the solemnity of an oath, and then it will be quite time enough to act. He trusted the House would not go into an investigation of this kind on a mere newspaper statement without any proof."

It was the subject of pointed comment at the time that, whereas, the remarks of Mr. Cilley were published in the Globe of the 12th, Mr. Webb waited until the 21st of February before demanding an explanation. Therefore, the presumption was, and it was distinctly charged, that "the offence was taken at Washington, the plot arranged there, and Mr. Webb sent for, after full consultation, and notified that he must take offence at Mr. Cilley's remarks. This supposition was the more readily credited not only because the same imputation against Mr. Webb had "been thousands of times made on innumerable occasions in Congress" without his ever resenting it in any such manner, but also from the fact that Mr. Cilley's ability and fearless bearing in debate had aroused a determination on the part of certain Southern gentlemen, if possible, to intimidate him and destroy his influence. As an illustration of this feeling the following extract from the Democratic Review is in point. Referring to the discussion upon Mr. Wise's resolution, above mentioned, the editor, J. L. O'Sullivan, afterwards United States minister to Portugal, and who, I am glad to know, still survives, said:

"An altercation of a very acrimonious character on the part of Mr. Wise arose upon this occasion. In reply to Mr. Cilley, Mr. Wise, among general remarks upon the opposition of the friends of the administration to all investigation without specific charges, etc., remarked, 'Every man careful of his honor, when such charges as these are made, will not wait to have them specifically framed,' and in the present instance he would say to the gentleman from Maine that a member of the party (Democratic) to which that gentleman belongs should be the last man to oppose the investigation of a charge like this, for it was much more likely to be him that was meant by the author of the charge than himself (Mr. W.). 'I, sir,' said Mr. Wise, 'have no influence with the executive or any of its branches, to sell for a price,'" etc.

Afterwards, in the course of the debate, the following altercation took place, as we find it reported in the Intelligencer:

" 'But now, because he (Mr. C.) had stood up to defend the character of the House against that anonymous imputation, he was to hear the basest charges against himself.

" 'Mr. Wise here asked if the gentleman from Maine meant to say that he (Mr. W.) had made base charges in relation to himself?

" 'Mr. Cilley would explain. He did feel that it was ungenerous for that gentleman to have said that the presumption was rather it was he (Mr. C.) than himself (Mr. W.) to whom this charge alluded.

" 'Mr. Wise had made no personal charge against the member from Maine, false or true, none whatever; and he again asked that gentleman if he meant to say that he had insinuated base charges against him.

" 'Mr. Cilley responded in substance what he had said.

" 'Mr. Wise. Then the gentleman from Maine designs deliberately to insult me.

" 'Mr. Cilley certainly did not; he had not made any charge against the gentleman from Virginia. He knew his rights and those of his constituents on that floor.

" 'Mr. Wise understood, and did not understand the gentleman from Maine as disclaiming the charge, that he had made base charges against that gentleman.

" 'Mr. Cilley said that he had distinctly remarked that the gentleman from Virginia had said he (Mr. C.) was more obnoxious to the charge contained in the resolution before the House than he (Mr. W.) was; and he could say no less than he had said, fearless of all consequences, but he had no intention to insult any one. The gentleman from Virginia just remarked that he had been informed of the name of the member alluded to; why not disclose it?

" 'Mr. Wise rose and said that he could never again treat that gentleman with confidence who could rise in his place and repeat to the House what a member had said in private conversation in his seat.

" 'Mr. Cilley had not intended to violate confidence. The gentleman from Virginia had said openly in his seat that he knew the name of the member meant.

" 'Mr. Wise. But it was in reply to an express question of another member.

" 'Some further explanation then took place between Mr. Cilley and Mr. Wise,' etc.

"The report of it is here cut off. Mr. Cilley sustained himself with perfect firmness and dignity to the end, his manner being, according to our information, in highly advantageous contrast with that of his assailant. The latter concluded by the following remark, spoken so openly and loud as to be heard at some distance, a remark which Mr. Cilley never affected to notice or to hear: 'But what is the use of bandying words with a man who won't hold himself personally accountable for his words?' "

Fully to appreciate this scene, one needs to have known its principal actors and observed the calm, firm, and dignified manner of Cilley in contrast with the fierce look and aggressive bearing of his opponent, as the writer more than once saw him in debate in the House during the winter of 1838-39, while Graves, looking sad and desponding, was also still a member of that body.

We will next present the correspondence, etc., as it appeared in a paper signed by the seconds in the duel, George W. Jones, of Iowa, and Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, which they published as their

"STATEMENT.

"Washington City, D. C., Feb. 26, 1838

"The following is a statement of the facts of the duel between the Honorable William J. Graves, of Kentucky, and the Honorable Jonathan Cilley, of Maine, agreed upon by George W. Jones and Henry A. Wise, the seconds of the parties, committed to writing between the hours of 10.30 o'clock a. m., February 25th, and 12 o'clock m. this day. The seconds propose, first, to state the correspondence which occurred before the challenge and which was communicated through others than themselves, neither second having borne any message, verbal or written, to or from either of the principals, until Mr. Wise bore the challenge and Mr. Jones bore the acceptance. This correspondence, as it has been placed in the hands of the seconds, is as follows, to wit:

"Mr. Graves to Mr. Cilley.

"House of Representatives, February 21, 1838.—In the interview which I had with you this morning, when you declined receiving from me the note of Colonel J. W. Webb, asking whether you were correctly reported in the Globe in what you are there represented to have said of him in this House upon the 12th instant, you will please say whether you did not remark, in substance, that in declining to receive the note, you hoped I would not consider it in any respect disrespectful to me, and that the ground on which you rested your declining to receive the note was distinctly this: That you could not consent to get yourself into personal difficulties with conductors of public journals for what you might think proper to say in debate upon this floor, in discharge of your duties as a representative of the people, and that you did not rest your objection in our interview upon any personal objection to Colonel Webb as a gentleman. Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"W. J. Graves.

"Honorable Jonathan Cilley.

"Mr. Cilley to Mr. Graves.

"House of Representatives, February 21, 1838.—The note which you just placed in my hands has been received. In reply I have to state that in your interview with me this morning, when you proposed to deliver a communication from Colonel Webb, of the New York Courier and Enquirer, I declined to receive it because I chose to be drawn into no controversy with him. I neither affirmed nor denied anything in regard to his character; but when you remarked that this course on my part might place you in an unpleasant situation, I stated to you, and now repeat, that I intended by the refusal no disrespect to you. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"Jona. Cilley.

"Honorable W. J. Graves.

"Mr. Graves to Mr. Cilley.

"House of Representatives, February 22, 1838.—Sir,—Your note of yesterday, in reply to mine of that date, is inexplicit, unsatisfactory, and insufficient; among other things in this, that in

your declining to receive Colonel Webb's communication, it does not disclaim any exception to him personally as a gentleman. I have therefore to inquire whether you declined to receive his communication on the ground of any personal exception to him as a gentleman or a man of honor? A categorical answer is expected. Very respectfully,

"William J. Graves.

"Honorable J. Cilley.

"Mr. Cilley to Mr. Graves.

"House of Representatives, February 22, 1838.—Sir,—Your note of this date has just been placed in my hands. I regret that mine of yesterday was not satisfactory to you, but I cannot admit the right on your part to propound the question to which you ask a categorical answer, and therefore decline any further response to it. Very respectfully,

"Jonathan Cilley.

"Honorable W. J. Graves.

"Here follows the first paper borne by Mr. Wise:

"As you have declined accepting a communication which I bore to you from Colonel Webb, and as, by your note of yesterday, you have refused to decline on grounds which would exonerate me from all responsibility growing out of the affair, I am left no other alternative but to ask that satisfaction which is recognized among gentlemen. My friend, Honorable Henry A. Wise, is authorized by me to make the arrangements suitable for the occasion. Your obedient servant,

"W. J. Graves.

"Honorable J. Cilley.

"Mr. Wise states that he presented the foregoing challenge to Mr. Cilley in the parlor at Mr. Birth's boarding-house a few minutes before twelve o'clock, on Friday, the twenty-third instant.

"In addition to the foregoing correspondence the seconds propose to relate only such facts and circumstances as occurred within their joint knowledge, after their own participation in the melancholy affair.

"On the evening of the twenty-third instant, about the hour of five o'clock, Mr. Jones, the second of Mr. Cilley, delivered to Mr. Graves in the room of Mr. Wise, and in his presence, the following note, which was the first paper borne by Mr. Jones, to wit:

"Washington City February 23, 1838.—Honorable W. J. Graves: Your note of this morning has been received. My friend, General Jones, will 'make the arrangements suitable to the occasion.' Your obedient servant,

"Jona. Cilley.

"Immediately upon the preparation of the acceptance of the challenge, Mr. Graves retired, leaving Mr. Jones with Mr. Wise, who submitted to Mr. Wise the following propositions for the arrangement of the meeting, to wit:

"Washington City, February 23, 1838.—Sir: Mr. Cilley proposes to meet Mr. Graves at such place as may be agreed upon between us to-morrow at twelve o'clock m. The weapons to be used on the occasion shall be rifles; the parties placed side to side at eighty yards distance from each other; to hold the rifles horizontally at arm's length downward; the rifles to be cocked and triggers set; the word to be, 'Gentlemen, are you ready?' after which, neither answering 'no,' the words shall be in regular succession, 'Fire, one, two, three, four.' Neither party shall

fire before the word 'fire,' nor after the word 'four.' The positions of the parties at the ends of the line to be determined by lot. The second of the party losing the position shall have the giving of the word. The dress to be ordinary winter clothing and subject to the examination of both parties. Each party may have on the ground, besides his second, a surgeon and two other friends. The seconds, for the execution of their respective trusts, are allowed to have a pair of pistols each on the ground, but no other persons shall have any weapon. The rifles to be loaded in the presence of the seconds. Should Mr. Graves not be able to procure a rifle in the time prescribed, time shall be allowed for that purpose. Your very obedient servant,

"George W. Jones.

"Honorable Henry A. Wise.

"About nine o'clock p. m., at Mr. Jones's room at Dawson's, Mr. Wise returned to him the following answer, to wit:

"Washington City, February 23, 1838. —Sir: The terms arranging the meeting between Mr. Graves and Mr. Cilley, which you presented to me this evening, though unusual and objectionable, are accepted with the understanding that the rifles are to be loaded with a single ball, and that neither party is to raise his weapon from the downward horizontal position until the word 'fire.' I will inform you, sir, by the hour of eleven o'clock a. m. tomorrow whether Mr. Graves has been able to procure a rifle, and, consequently, whether he will require a postponement of the time of meeting. Your very obedient servant,

"Henry A. Wise.

"Honorable George W. Jones.

"About eight o'clock a. m. on the twenty-fourth instant, Mr. Jones left at Mr. Wise's room the following note, to wit:

"Washington City, February 24, 1838. —Sir: I will receive at Dr. Reilly's, on F Street, any communication you may see proper to make me until eleven o'clock a. m., to-day. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"George W. Jones.

"Honorable H. A. Wise.

"Dr. Reilly's, F Street, February 24, 1838, 10 a. m.—Sir: I have called at this place in conformity to your note of this morning, to inform you that Mr. Graves has not as yet been able to procure a rifle and put it in order, and cannot be ready by twelve o'clock m. to-day. He is desirous, however, to have the meeting to-day, if possible, and I will inform you by half-past twelve o'clock m. to-day what time he will require to procure and prepare a weapon. Very respectfully, etc.,

"Henry A. Wise.

"Honorable George W. Jones.

"Afterwards Mr. Jones left at Mr. Wise's room the following note, to wit:

"Washington, 10.30 a. m., February 24, 1838.—Sir: Your note, dated at ten o'clock to-day, is received. In reply I have the pleasure to inform you that I have in my possession an excellent rifle, in good order, which is at the service of Mr. Graves. Very respectfully, etc.,

"George W. Jones.

"Honorable H. A. Wise.

"Afterwards Mr. Jones sent to Mr. Wise's room the following note, to wit:

"Washington, February 24, 1838, 11 a. m.—Sir: Through the politeness of my friend Dr. Duncan, I now tender to you, for the use of Mr. Graves, the rifle referred to in my note of ten o'clock this morning. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"George W. Jones.

"Honorable H. A. Wise.

"And with this note a rifle and powder-flask and balls were left at Mr. Wise's room. After the reception of this note from Mr. Jones, Mr. Wise called on him at Dr. Reilly's and informed Mr. Jones that Mr. Graves had procured a rifle other than that left at his room by Dr. Duncan, and would be ready for the meeting at three o'clock p. m. It was then agreed that the parties should meet at the Anacostia bridge, on the road to Marlborough, Maryland, between the hours of half-past one and half-past two o'clock p. m., and if either got there first he should wait for the other, and that they would thence proceed out of the District. Accordingly the parties met at the bridge, Mr. Cilley and his party arriving there first, and all proceeded, about two o'clock p. m., to the place of meeting. On arriving at the place, Mr. Jones and Mr. Wise immediately proceeded to mark off the ground. They then decided the choice of positions. Mr. Wise won the position, and consequently Mr. Jones had the giving of the word. At the time Mr. Jones was informed by Mr. Wise that two gentlemen (Mr. Calhoun, of Kentucky, and Mr. Hawes, of Kentucky) were at some distance off, spectators, but they should not approach upon the ground. Mr. Jones replied that he objected to their coming on the ground, as it was against the articles of the meeting, but he entertained for them the highest respect. Mr. Wise informed Mr. Jones that, contrary to the terms, he had brought on the ground two rifles; that if he (Mr. Jones) required him to do so, he would immediately send one of them away. Upon Mr. Jones finding that the rifle was unloaded, he consented that it should remain in one of the carriages. There were, it is proper to remark, several persons on the ground (besides the hack-drivers and the two gentlemen at a distance before mentioned) who were there without the authority or consent of either party or their friends, as far as is known either to Mr. Jones or Mr. Wise, and one of these persons was supposed to be the owner of the field. Shortly after the hour of three p. m. the rifles were loaded in the presence of the seconds; the parties were called together; they were fully instructed by Mr. Jones as to their positions, and the words were twice repeated to them as they would be and as they were delivered to them in the exchange of shots. After they were ordered to their respective positions, the seconds assumed their places, and the friends accompanying the seconds were disposed along the line of fire to observe that each obeyed the terms of meeting. Mr. Jones gave the word distinctly, audibly, and in regular succession, and the parties exchanged shots without violating in the least a single instruction. They both missed. After which Mr. Wise called upon the friends generally to assemble and hear what was to be said. Upon the assembling of the friends, Mr. Jones inquired of Mr. Wise whether his friend (Mr. Graves) was satisfied. Mr. Wise immediately said in substance, 'Mr. Jones, these gentlemen have come here without animosity towards each other; they are fighting merely upon a point of

honor; cannot Mr. Cilley assign some reason for not receiving at Mr. Graves's hands Colonel Webb's communication, or make some disclaimer which will relieve Mr. Graves from his position?' Mr. Jones replied, in substance, 'Whilst the challenge is impending, Mr. Cilley can make no explanation.' Mr. Wise said, in substance, 'The exchange of shots suspends the challenge, and the challenge is suspended for the purpose of explanation.' Mr. Jones therefore said he would see Mr. Cilley, and did go to him. He returned and asked Mr. Wise again, 'Mr. Wise, do I understand aright that the challenge is suspended?' Mr. Wise answered, 'It is.' Mr. Jones was then about to proceed, when Mr. Wise suggested that it was best, perhaps, to give the explanation or reason in writing. Mr. Jones then said, in substance, 'Mr. Wise, if you require me to put what I have to say in writing, I shall require you to put what you have said and may say in writing.' Mr. Wise replied, 'Well, let us hear the explanation beforehand, as it may not be necessary to put it in writing.' Mr. Jones then proceeded, as he now thinks, substantially to say, 'I am authorized by my friend, Mr. Cilley, to say that, in declining to receive the note from Mr. Graves, purporting to be from Colonel Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, because he entertained for him then, as he now does, the most kind feelings; but that he declined to receive the note because he chose not to be drawn into controversy with Colonel Webb.' Mr. Wise thinks this answer of Mr. Jones's was, in substance, as follows: 'I am authorized by my friends, Mr. Cilley, to say that, in declining to receive the note from Mr. Graves purporting to be from Colonel Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, because he entertained for him then, as he does now, the highest respect and most kind feelings, but my friend refuses to disclaim disrespect for Colonel Webb, because he does not choose to be drawn into an expression of opinion as to him.' Such is the substantial difference between the two seconds as to the answer of Mr. Jones. The friends on each side, with the seconds, then retired from each other to consult upon this explanation. After consultation, Mr. Wise returned to Mr. Jones and said, 'Mr. Jones, this answer leaves Mr. Graves precisely in the position in which he stood when the challenge was sent.' Much conversation then ensued between the seconds and their friends, but, no nearer approach to reconciliation being made, the challenge was renewed and another shot was exchanged in a manner perfectly fair and honorable to all parties. After this the seconds and their friends again assembled and the challenge was again withdrawn and very similar conversations to that after the first exchange of shots again ensued. Mr. Jones then remarked, 'Mr. Wise, my friend, in coming to the ground and exchanging shots with Mr. Graves, has shown to the world that in declining to receive the note of Colonel Webb he did not do so because he dreaded a controversy. He has shown himself a brave man, and disposed to render satisfaction to Mr. Graves. I do think he has done so, and that the matter should end here.' To this Mr. Wise replied, in substance, 'Mr. Jones, Mr. Cilley has already expressed his respect for Mr. Graves in the written correspondence, and Mr. Graves does not require of Mr. Cilley a certificate of character for Colonel Webb; he considers himself bound not only to pre-

serve the respect due to himself, but to defend the honor of his friend, Colonel Webb.' These words of Mr. Wise Mr. Jones recollects, and Mr. Wise thinks he added the words, 'Mr. Graves only insists that he has not borne the note of a man who is not a man of honor and not a gentleman.' After much more conversation and ineffectual attempts to adjust the matter, the challenge was again renewed, and, whilst the friends were again loading the rifles for the third exchange of shots, Mr. Jones and Mr. Wise walked apart, and each proposed to the other anxiously to settle the affair. Mr. Wise asked Mr. Jones 'if Mr. Cilley could not assign the reason for declining to receive the note of Colonel Webb, that he did not hold himself accountable to Colonel Webb for words spoken in debate?' Mr. Jones replied, that 'Mr. Cilley would not assign that reason, because he did not wish to be understood as expressing the opinion whether he was or was not accountable for words spoken in debate.' Mr. Wise then, according to recollection, asked Mr. Jones whether Mr. Cilley would not say that 'in declining to receive the note of Colonel Webb he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, directly or indirectly?' To which Mr. Jones replied affirmatively, adding, 'Mr. Cilley entertains the highest respect for Mr. Graves, but declines to receive the note because he chose to be drawn into no controversy with Colonel Webb.' After further explanatory conversation the parties then exchanged the third shot, fairly and honorably as in every instance. Immediately previous to the last exchange of shots Mr. Wise said to Mr. Jones, 'If this matter is not terminated this shot, and is not settled, I will propose to shorten the distance.' To which Mr. Jones replied, 'After this shot, if without effect, I will entertain the proposition.'

"After Mr. Cilley fell, Mr. Wise, for Mr. Graves, expressed a desire to Mr. Jones to see Mr. Cilley. Mr. Jones replied to Mr. Wise, 'My friend is dead,' and went on to Mr. Graves and told him that there was no objection to his request to see Mr. Cilley. When Mr. Jones approached Mr. Graves and informed him that his request should be granted, Mr. Graves inquired, 'How is he?' The reply was, 'My friend is dead, sir.' Mr. Graves then went to his carriage. Mr. Wise inquired of Mr. Jones before leaving the ground whether he could render any service, and tendered all the aid in his power. Mr. Wise and Mr. Jones concur that there were three shots exchanged.

"Such is the naked statement of all the material facts and circumstances attending this unfortunate affair of honor, which we make in justice to our friends, to ourselves, and to all concerned, the living and the dead; and it is made only for the purpose of allaying excitement in the public mind, and to prevent any and all further controversy upon the subject, which already is full enough of woe. We have fully and substantially stated wherein we agree and disagree. We cordially agree, at all events, in bearing unqualified testimony to the fair and honorable manner in which the duel was conducted. We endeavored to discharge our duties according to that code under which the parties met, regulated by magnanimous principles and the laws of humanity. Neither of us has taken the least exception to the course of the other; and we sincerely hope that here all controversy whatever may cease. We especially desire our respective friends to make no publication on the subject. None can regret the termina-

tion of the affair more than ourselves, and we hope again that the last of it will be the signatures of our names to this paper, which we now affix.

"George W. Jones.
"Henry A. Wise."

Vain hope! Instead of this being "the last of the affair," the supposed instigators of it were met on all sides with a perfect storm of indignation, and an almost universal demand for a searching investigation of the matter and punishment of the guilty; and the more the circumstances of the tragedy became known the fiercer the cry for retribution. Before proceeding, however, to depict this feeling, I will introduce the sworn statement of William H. Morrell and Daniel Jackson, two chosen friends of Colonel Webb, who, according to their testimony, "said that it was utterly impossible that a meeting could be permitted to take place between Messrs. Graves and Cilley until Mr. Cilley had first met him (Webb), and that he was determined to force such a meeting upon Mr. Cilley, be the consequences what they might." It was accordingly agreed that Col. Webb, with two friends "properly armed, should repair to Mr. Cilley's room, when Mr. Webb should offer to Mr. Cilley the choice of his duelling pistols with the following alternatives: either then and there to settle the question or pledge his word of honor that he would give Colonel Webb a meeting before Mr. Graves at such a place and time and with such weapons as Mr. Cilley might appoint; and in the event of doing neither, then to expect the most serious consequences on the spot. Mr. Webb then added: "Should he refuse either to fight me at the time, or give the pledge required, I shall have no alternative left but to shatter his right arm and thereby prevent his meeting my friend." Before this plan could be carried out, it was found that Mr. Cilley had left his lodgings for the duelling ground, understood to be Bladensburg, to which place Colonel Webb and his two friends immediately repaired. On their way, Colonel Webb designated the following order of proceedings:

" 'On reaching the parties,' said he, 'I'll approach Mr. Cilley and tell him this is my quarrel and he must fight me, and that, if he aims his rifle at my friend, I'll shoot him on the spot. We know that, upon this, Messrs. Graves and Wise will interfere, and that we will be ordered off the ground; but I shall tell them that we have come prepared to lose our lives or prevent the meeting, and that it cannot proceed without first disposing of us. From our knowledge of the parties, it is probable that some one of them will then raise his weapon at me, when I shall instantly shoot Cilley, and we must proceed to defend ourselves in the best way we can.' "

After stating that they drove to the usual duelling ground and several other places without being able to find the parties, the witnesses say: "It is unnecessary to add what would have been the course of Colonel Webb if Mr. Graves, instead of Mr. Cilley, had been injured. Suffice it to say that his determination was sanctioned by us, and, however much we deplore it, we could not doubt but the extraordinary position in which he would then have been placed would have warranted the course determined upon."

Alluding to the dark intimation in the last paragraph, an able editor, at the time holding a high position under the United States government, remarked, "Thus, then, it seems if Cilley had

escaped from the field with his life, he would have been doubtless, assassinated by Webb and his associates."

Colonel Schaumbourg, a friend of Mr. Cilley, states that before the meeting, Mr. Cilley said to him:

"Mr. Graves has taken upon himself to demand of me to say, and that in language dictated by himself, that James Watson Webb is a gentleman and a man of honor. Now, that is what I am not going to disgrace myself by saying. I see into the whole affair. Webb has come on here to challenge me because he and perhaps others think that, as I am from New England, I am to be bluffed, and Mr. Webb will proclaim himself a brave man, and having obtained acknowledgment on my part that he is a gentleman and a man of honor. But they have calculated without their host. Although I know that the sentiment of New England is opposed to duelling, I am sure that my people will be better pleased if I stand the test than disgrace myself by humiliating concessions. Sir, the name I bear will never permit me to cower beneath the frown of mortal man. It is an attempt to browbeat us, and they think that because I am from the East, I will tamely submit."

Besides the two seconds, the friends of each party on the ground were, on the part of Mr. Cilley, Jesse A. Bynum, member of Congress from North Carolina, Colonel W. Schaumbourg, of Pennsylvania, and Alexander Duncan (surgeon,) member of Congress from Ohio; and, on the part of Mr. Graves, John J. Crittenden, Senator, and Richard H. Menifee, member of Congress from Kentucky, and Dr. J. M. Foltz, surgeon, of Washington City. These gentlemen were quite as free from censure in the affair as were some others not present. The greater weight of "public opprobrium and disgust" fell upon Mr. Wise and Colonel Webb, as will appear from quotations we will see from the public records and the press.

Mr. Cilley's death was announced in the House of Representatives on the 26th of February by the Hon. John Fairfield, of Maine, and in the Senate, the same day, by the Hon. Reuel Williams, of Maine, and appropriate resolutions provided for the appointment of a committee of seven members to investigate the causes which led to Mr. Cilley's death and the circumstances connected therewith; also to inquire whether, in the matter, there had been any breach of the privileges of the House. The resolutions, after considerable opposition, were passed by yeas one hundred and fifty-two, nays forty-nine, and this committee was composed of the following gentlemen: Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, W. W. Potter, of Pennsylvania, George Grinnell, Jr., of Massachusetts, F. H. Elmore, of South Carolina, A. D. W. Bruyn, of New York, S. Grantland, of Georgia, and J. Rariden, of Indiana. The committee were divided in opinion and made three reports, Mr. Toucey, afterward Senator and member of both President Polk's and President Buchanan's Cabinet, presenting that of the majority. It embraces the material facts and circumstances of the duel,and among other things, declares that "It is a breach of the highest constitutional privileges of the House,and of the most sacred rights of the people in the person of their representative, to demand in a hostile manner an explanation of words spoke in debate."

The committee submitted resolutions for the expulsion of William J. Graves, Henry A. Wise, and George W. Jones. Finally, after a long debate, the whole

subject was laid on the table by a vote of one hundred and two to seventy-six, a vote of censure merely being passed.

High as party feeling was at the time, indignation and denunciation were by no means confined to one side in politics. "Never," said Charles G. Green, editor of the Boston Post "was there a more dastardly murder than that of the unfortunate Cilley. The nation should echo with indignation at this horrible outrage, this cold-blooded assassination." Naming two of the principal actors (Webb and Wise) in the affair, the same editor calls the one "the miserable poltroon," and the other "the wretch," adding, "both of them are equally a disgrace to human nature, and will deceive the execration of mankind: we hope that the penitentiary or the gallows will soon relieve society of their baneful presence." A Washington correspondent of the Journal of Commerce is quoted as saying that, "After Jones returned the last time, from the conference, with Wise's reply, Mr. Cilley said, in a calm and collected tone, 'They thirst for my blood!'" In a previous conference, as reported by the seconds, Mr. Cilley said that "in declining to receive the note from Colonel Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, because he entertained for him then, as he now does, the highest respect and most kind feelings." "But," as remarked by the Democratic Review, published by Langtree and O'Sullivan, at the time, "all this was without avail."

Mr. Cilley fought under disadvantages which (says the Journal of Commerce) must have been well known to those on the other side, and which induced some persons to say that his seconds ought never to have suffered him to fight under them at all. These disadvantages were stated to be that Mr. Cilley, being, as was personally known to the present writer, very near-sighted, could not see to shoot at the distance measured off, which was alleged to be greater by twenty yards than that agreed on; that his rifle was so light—only about one-half the calibre of that of his antagonist—that it would not carry that distance with accuracy; that he was shooting against the wind, which was blowing a gale; and that he stood on rising ground in open light, presenting a plain mark, while his antagonist was shaded by a copse of wood. Under all these disadvantages, after disclaiming all enmity to Graves, and after technical requisition preliminary to accommodation in honorable duelling, and even after he had declared that he did not wish to take Graves's life, but entertained for him "the highest respect and the most kisd feelings," Mr. Cilley was shot down! "What," asked the Eastern Argus, "does this prove but that he was foully murdered?"

At a great public meeting, held at the capital of Maine, on the 9th of March, 1838, "for the purpose of noticing in a suitable manner the atrocious murder of Hon. Jonathan Cilley," a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, declaring, among other things, that the duel was "the result of a foul conspiracy, concerted and approved among a few political leaders, to take advantage of Mr. Cilley and draw him into a quarrel, in order that they might seize upon the opportunity afforded to gratify personal feelings of private malice and revenge, and remove out of the way an opponent every day becoming more and more formidable, whose eloquent appeals and retorted sarcasms it would be more easy to silence by the pistol than

answer in debate; that in the course pursued by Henry A. Wise in managing and conducting the incidents of the duel after the first fire, there is evidence of deep and vindictive malignity; and that he stands justly chargeable before the world, upon his own showing, of having violated every recognized principle of chivalry by availing himself of his position and the occasion to glut his own feelings of private grudge and ill-will against Mr. Cilley for a former supposed offense given by the deceased, not to his principal, Graves, but to himself, Wise, a course of conduct worthy only of a recreant and a dastard; that the studied attempt made by Henry A. Wise to palliate and gloss over his conduct during the duel, apparent in the imperfect but official account, so called, of the doings, and the special desire expressed in the account, that those who witnessed the scene should make no publication on the subject, afford strong presumptive evidence of a consciousness that there were deeds of darkness and treachery in the history of the conflict which would not bear to be told; while, on the other hand, the careful insertion in that account of a statement that Mr. Wise inquired of Mr. Jones, before leaving the ground, 'whether he could render any service, and tendered all the aid in his power,' the murder having been already perpetrated, and the lifeless corpse of Mr. Cilley then lying stretched out before him, is a derision and a mockery upon the better feelings of our nature, worthy only of the man who could coolly triumph over the fallen victim of his own foul machinations; and that in the transaction which terminated in the death of Mr. Cilley, considered under the mildest and most mitigated features given to it by those who took part in it, there is presented to the people of Maine a case of ruthless assassination—of preconcerted and cold-blooded murder of one of their representatives, for having boldly and fearlessly done his duty, and being resolved to continue to do so."

The editor of the Democratic Review, in a position to obtain the most correct information on the subject, was very severe in his comments upon the whole affair, and particularly with reference to Wise's course in insisting, after the second shot, either that Mr. Cilley should "acknowledge Webb to be a gentleman and a man of honor," or that "blood should flow!"

"It is not enough that he (Mr. Cilley) has said nothing to the disparagement of Mr. Webb—that he is free in expression of the highest respect and best feeling toward Graves; it is not enough that two shots have been interchanged on this flimsy punctilio of honor, in the language of one of the gentlemen on the field, in his remonstrance, 'based on an abstraction and assumed upon an implication;' it is not enough that all persons on the ground—the second, the surgeon, and consulting friends of the challenged party, the surgeon and one at least of the friends of the challenging side (Mr. Crittenden)—are unanimous in opinion that all has been done that the most fastidious honor can require; it is not enough that he (Wise) has put a distinct proposition, in decisive terms, as if an ultimatum, from an anxiety to bring an end to the combat, that acknowledgment shall be made that no disrespect was meant to Mr. Graves, directly or indirectly, and that it was, in terms, answered affirmatively: nothing whatever will suffice but a degrading acknowledgment contrary to the conscience and truth of the party, and to the well-known majority

of society, and entirely extraneous to the relation between the parties in the field—an acknowledgment which nothing but a trembling cowardice, widely unlike the brave bearing of poor Cilley, could yield under such circumstances—an acknowledgment which he knew, and could not but have known, could not and would not be conceded. No, nothing will suffice but this abject and impossible submission—or blood! The spirit of malignant evil that ruled the ascendant of that dark hour triumphed, and the kind-hearted, the generous, the peaceful, the manly, the noble, the true, the brave, lay weltering in his own blood!"

The following, says the editor of the Review, are substantially the views of the matter which Mr. Cilley expressed freely to his friends on the morning of the fatal encounter:

"I am driven to this meeting by a positive compulsion. I have done all that an honorable man could do to avert it. Why should I acknowledge that man to be a gentleman and a man of honor? In truth and conscience I could not do so, and still less can I have it so unreasonably extorted from me by force and threat. I have no ill-will nor disrespect toward Mr. Graves. He knows it, and I have repeatedly and fully expressed it. I abhor the idea of taking his life, and will do nothing not forced upon me in self-defence. The pretext of the challenge is absurd. I understand the conspiracy to destroy me as a public man. But New England must not be trampled on, my name must not be disgraced, and I go to this field sustained by as high a motive of patriotism as ever led my grandfather or my brother to battle, as an unhappy duty, not to be shrunk from, to my honor, my principles, and my country."

On the evening before the duel he charged one of his lady friends, should he not survive, to say to his wife that he "had endeavored to pursue that course in all things which she would approve and his own conscience dictated."

In a biographical sketch of Mr. Cilley, published in the Democratic Review for September, 1838, Nathaniel Hawthorne says:

"A challenge was never given on a more shadowy pretext; a duel was never pressed to a fatal close in the face of such open kindness as was expressed by Mr. Cilley; and the conclusion is inevitable that Mr. Graves and his principal second, Mr. Wise, have gone further than their own dreadful code will warrant them, and overstepped the imaginary distinction which, on their own principles, separates manslaughter from murder."

Mr. Wise was not a man to rest silent under such opprobrium. On the 16th of March, 1838, he issued a long address to his constituents in which he gave his own account of the duel so far as he himself was concerned. He began by saying that "the catastrophe had brought upon him much odium and reproach," but claimed that he was bound to act for Mr. Graves, because, said he:

"I felt obliged to do for him what I would have called on him to do for me. It is said that I myself was hostile to his antagonist. If so, I may have been incompetent, but I solemnly deny that I was hostile to Mr. Cilley. There had been a slight misunderstanding between us in debate, which passed off with the moment and left no trace of animosity behind. But hostile to him or not, and though hostility might, perhaps, have incited another to take his life—dark and deadly such hate must have been—yet my conduct proves that

I did earnestly endeavor to prevent the shedding of blood by reconciling his difference with my friend; and the history of the tragedy proves that not only I but two other gentlemen of known character and standing, who were never accused of hostility to him, and who might have overruled me by their voices and influence, could not reconcile that difference or prevent its result."

He says, also, that he rebuked Graves for bearing the note from Mr. Webb, and that he told him that Mr. Cilley's reasons, as repeated by Mr. Graves, for refusing to receive the note "were very proper," and his answer, "certainly satisfactory." Here is what he said Mr. Graves represented Mr. Cilley had in substance verbally declared: That, "in declining to receive the note he hoped it would not be thought disrespectful to him (Mr. Graves); that he declined on the ground that he could not consent to be involved in personal difficulties with conductors of public journals for what he had thought proper to say in debate upon the floor, and that he did not decline upon any personal objection to Colonel Webb as a gentleman." Mr. Wise appears to have assented to the propriety of Mr. Graves requiring this answer to be put in writing, and so came the challenge, the terms of which Mr. Wise said were regarded as "barbarous and such as might properly be declined; but it was thought they were intended to intimidate; that the distance was so great as in some measure to mitigate the severity of the weapon, and therefore I was advised that they should be accepted." It was likewise sugg sted that the challenged party might be the first to fly from these terms.

He speaks of his difficulty in procuring a suitable rifle for Mr. Graves, and admits that he had asked Mr. Jones to assist him in that particular. At the same time he says, "I wished to gain time not only to procure a fit rifle, but to afford an opportunity, if possible, to prevent the meeting."

He quotes from Mr. Jones's note the passage in which he said to Mr. Wise that he had the pleasure to inform him that he had an excellent rifle in good order which was at the service of Mr. Graves, and remarks that, without waiting for an answer, Mr. Jones tendered to him "for the use of Mr. Graves, the rifle referred to," and its appendages. Thus, Mr. Wise says, "A weapon, not one of a pair, was tendered for the use of Mr. Graves in a manner that was considered taunting." Leaving it be inferred, of course, that one preferred to it had been reserved for Mr. Cilley. He contends, too, that Mr. Cilley "precipitated the time of meeting when the second of Mr. Graves was avowing a want of preparation and a desire for delay."

He proceeds to say:

"The distance appointed was eighty yards. It is my firm belief that the distance stepped off by Mr. Jones and myself, which we did pari passu, was nearer one hundred yards than eighty. The ground was measured before the choice of positions, and I believe that we both stepped with a view of preventing the parties from hitting each other. I kept my eye on Mr. Cilley. It was my duty to see he obeyed the rules. At the first exchange of shots I thought he fired, though perfectly fair, too hurriedly, and his ball did not reach Mr. Graves, because he did not raise his rifle sufficiently high. Mr. Graves fired after Mr. Cilley."

At the second shot, he says:

"Mr. Graves's rifle went off quickly, and, as he told me afterwards, acci-

dentally, and into the ground. Mr. Cilley drew up very deliberately, aimed, I feared, a deadly shot, and fired. I thought he had hit Mr. Graves. It was very apparent to me that Mr. Cilley had shot at the life of Mr. Graves. If, when Mr. Graves's rifle went off, without harm to him, he had discharged his in the air or reserved his fire, the fight would have been at an end."

Nevertheless, Mr. Cilley's friends said that, even admitting that Mr. Wise was correct in his assertion that Mr. Cilley fired after the discharge of Mr. Graves's rifle, it was equally true, according to his own statement, that Mr. Graves, on the first exchange of shots, had done the same thing toward Mr. Cilley. It does not appear how Mr. Wise could reconcile his allegation in this regard with his official statement, conjointly with Mr. Jones, that the second shot was exchanged "in a manner perfectly fair and honorable to all parties," and that they bore their unqualified testimony to the fair and honorable manner in which the duel was conducted.

Between the second and third shots, in making the proposition he did, that Cilley should say that "in declining to receive Colonel Webb's note, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, either directly or indirectly," Mr. Wise says he went beyond his instructions; and that he understood Mr. Jones to say that "Mr. Cilley would not say these words alone, nor without adding words which did away the effect of the word 'indirectly,' and which left the parties exactly where they were when they came upon the ground." He says, "It was at the instance of Mr. Graves himself that I remarked to Mr. Jones, immediately previous to the last exchange of shots, 'If this matter is not terminated this shot, and is not settled, I shall propose to shorten the distance.'"

Later—February, 1839—Mr. Wise availed himself of an opportunity to present his defence before the House of Representatives. I was there and heard it. He was wildly excited and defiant. Said he:

"I am ready to be tried. Put me at your bar, and I will plead instantly. I am ready to say on the spot, I did on that occasion just what I will do again under similar circumstances. Let Puritans shudder as they may, I proclaim that I belong to the class of Cavaliers, not to the Roundheads! You shall not taunt me. What are you doing? You have passed a penitentiary act [the anti-duelling law]. You are then bound to take the defence of character into your own hands, as you have taken arms from the hands of the cavalier. Will you do it? No! I call upon you, I call upon society, either to defend me or give me back my arms. In the face of an approaching election, I say to my good constituents. . . . If you are determined I shall not defend myself when assailed, like a true knight, do not send me to Congress, for I shall just as surely fight, if occasion is given, as you send me; and so I shall ever continue until the holy religion of the Cross takes possession of my soul, which may God grant right early."

Up to this time, and for nearly two years afterwards, Mr. Wise, in public estimation, stood out prominently as the one individual altogether the most deserving of censure in this matter. As he himself said in an appeal "to the public," in March, 1842, "The whole weight of an almost insupportable odium fell upon my reputation for my conduct in the affair."

But in the winter of that year, or earlier, the relations of some of the

parties to the transaction had become changed. Mr. Wise had espoused the cause of President Tyler, thus separating himself from his old friend Henry Clay, who was a candidate for the presidency, and to whose fortunes Messrs. Graves and Webb, with the Whig party generally, adhered. It began to be whispered about that Mr. Clay had been consulted and exercised a controlling influence in the affair of the duel, and a direct charge to this effect brought out Mr. Graves, on a call from Mr. Clay, in explanation. I will not extend this narrative by going at length into the particulars of the correspondence which followed, and in which Messrs. Wise, Graves, Clay, Reverdy Johnson, and Charles King took part. Suffice it to say that, except so far as Wise was concerned, all was said that could be to exculpate Mr. Clay, but, as must be admitted, not with entire success. It came out that he was early consulted by all these gentlemen, and that he actually "drew the form of challenge which was finally adopted." It was a modification of the form submitted to him by Wise and Graves, and the latter states that "it was rather calculated to soften the language and not so completely to close the door to an adjustment of the difficulty." Mr. Wise says that when he and Mr. Graves called on Mr. Clay, in discussing the terms of the duel, which he (Wise) "protested against as unusual and barbarous," Mr. Clay remarked that Mr. Graves was "a Kentuckian, and that no Kentuckian could back out from a rifle."

Mr. Wise stated that—"Mr. Clay's friends particularly were very anxious, for obvious reasons, not to involve his name especially in the affair. Thus many confidential facts remained unknown on both sides. Mr. Clay himself, it is true, while all his friends were trembling lest the part he took in it should be disclosed, boldly came to me and said, 'Sir, it is a nine days' bubble! If they want to know what I did in the matter, tell them to call me before them and I will tell them.' This excited my admiration at the time, and was effectual to prevent me from unnecessarily bringing his name before the committee."

After all, I think public sentiment, as at first expressed, was not materially modified by these later developments, and that it remains unchanged as regards Wise's great culpability, notwithstanding Graves, in the course of their correspondence, declared to him, "I always have, and now do, most emphatically exempt you from all blame or censure growing out of your connection with the affair. I, and I only, am justly responsible for whatever was done by myself or those representing me as my friends on that occasion."

One of the most stinging accusations against Mr. Wise was made by ex-President John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives on the 26th of January, 1842, when a resolution, offered by Mr. Gilmer, of Virginia (killed by the bursting of the "Peacemaker" on the "Princeton," in February, 1844), was under discussion, declaring that Mr. Adams had justly incurred the censure of the House in presenting for its consideration an abolition petition for the dissolution of the Union. Mr. Wise took a leading part in the discussion, in the course of which the venerable ex-President was led to say that, "four or five years ago, there came to the House a man [Wise] with his hands and face dripping with the blood of a murder, the blotches of which were yet hanging upon him." This, in

nearly the same language, he twice repeated, and at the same time said: "I never did believe but he [Wise] was the guilty man, and that the man who pulled the trigger was but an instrument in his hands. This was my belief in the beginning."

Of the actors in this deplorable affair, the only survivor (December, 1891) is George W. Jones, of Iowa, Mr. Cilley's second. Mr. Graves, after long and intense suffering, both mental and physical, died in Louisville, Ky., on the 27th of September, 1848, aged forty-three years.

The public funerals held by Congress, and also in Augusta, Thomaston and other places were deeply impressive in their nature and called out a wealth of eulogy, and showed only too plainly the great hold that Jonathan Cilley had upon the people of the entire country.

"There is a curious psychological fact connected with this matter," says Gen. J. P. Cilley. "Father was killed on Saturday, and the next day being Sunday, my mother took down a copy of Watts' Hymns, and began to turn the pages. She had not heard of father's death, and after turning a few leaves she found a hymn that impressed her so profoundly that she marked the page, in order to refer to it again. A short time afterward she learned that the hymn in question was the very one sung at his funeral in the halls of Congress. It was the poem commencing with these lines:—

"Far, far o'er hill and dale on the winds stealing
List to the tolling bell, mournfully pealing;
Hark! hark! it seems to say,
As melts those sounds away,
So life's best joys decay
Whilst new their feeling.
O'er a father's tomb see the orphan bending,
From the solemn churchyard's gloom hear the dirge ascending;
Hark! Hark! it seems to say,
How short ambition's sway,
Life's joys and friendship's ray,
In the dark grave ending."

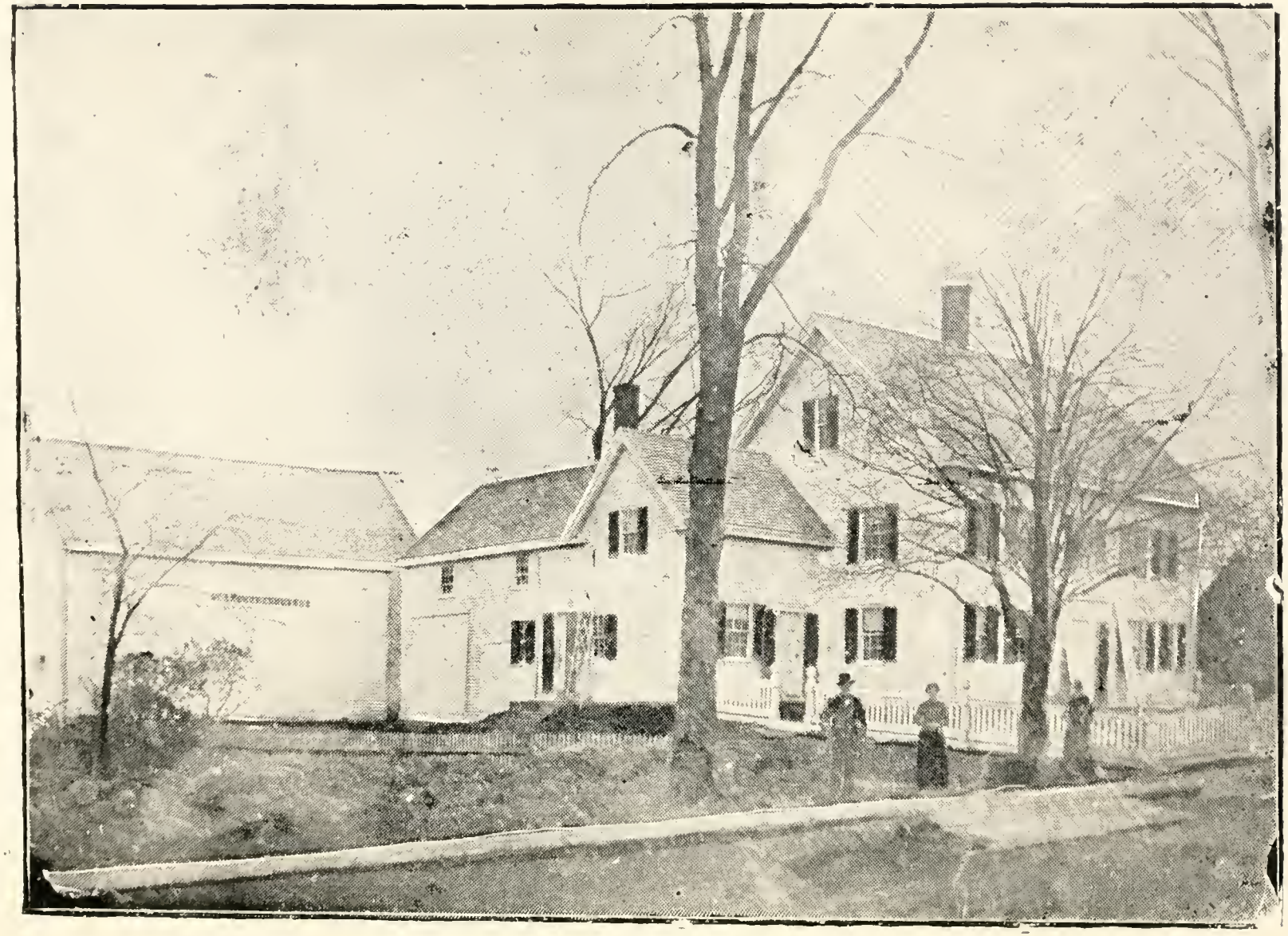
"In a few months my father's body was brought home from the Congressional burying ground in Washington. When the vessel reached Rockland, a company of friends took the body from the boat and carried it to Thomaston on their shoulders, where elaborate and impressive services were held. It almost seems that I have a dim recollection of the event, although this may be my own imagination. Even the people of the South denounced father's death as a murder. In the Maysville, Kentucky, Monitor, a poem was printed a short time after the duel, entitled "A Lament for Hon. Jonathan Cilley." Here is the poem, but I cannot tell you the name of the author:—

"And thou art dead and lowly laid,
The foeman's dread, thy people's aid;
And shall no requiem chant for thee,
Son of the bold, the brave, the free?
Thus saith the bard, as with trembling hand,
He touched his harp to a solemn sound;
Then softly rose a mournful strain,
As those who weep for the early slain.
Son of the North—of a hero's line,
Why bend they o'er thy lowly shrine?
Why stand these mourners in mute array,
With weeds of woe in sad display,
While many a chieftain, tall and true,
With tears thy early fall bedew,
And silent awe and gloomy shades,
O'er the vast multitude pervades?
Why waits that lady, so sad and lone,
In her bower afar, her loved one's return?
The swell of emotion is heard in her sighs.
Ah! in vain, lovely lady, shalt thou listen to hear
His accents of kindness again fall on thine ear,
In the hall of his fathers his footsteps no more,
He lies a pale corpse on a far distant shore.
Fell he in the battle as his fathers had done?
Or fell he in phalanx, the gallant among?
Ah! as for the story too tragic to tell,
How the young and the noble so fatally fell:
Too honest to falter, too proud to deny,
Too brave to act craven, or dastardly fly,
His truth or his valor he never could yield,
A martyr to honor—he sank in the field."

Thus died the brave and gifted Jonathan Cilley. To our regret for the loss of that splendid genius must be added another grief—that he threw away his life for so senseless a cause. True to his New England blood and training he was ever staunch and steadfast until he swerved in this final scene. If he had a mistaken sense of honor he paid the forfeit, and we may now well spread garlands above his grave. Had not the grim messenger cut short that brilliant genius we know not to what splendid heights it might have mounted. In our imagination we will no longer dwell upon his grave, but picture him as still rising on triumphant wing above all struggles and aspirations that may surround him on that farther shore.

Greenleaf Cilley, son of Jonathan, born in Thomaston, Me., Oct. 27th, 1829 and died at San Isidro, Argentina, South America, Feb. 5, 1899. He attended the school of the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst of Standish, Me. for one year, subsequently the Bath High school; was appointed as midshipman in the U. S. Navy, Feb. 26th, 1841, and was ordered to the frigate "Cumberland," Sept. 1843. Sickness prevented his sailing in the vessel, which he subsequently rejoined by order of the Navy Department in Naples, Italy. He served in the Cumberland and sloop of war "Plymouth" in the Mediterranian Squadron until Nov., 1845, and in the Plymouth on the Brazil station returning to New York in October, 1846, and was ordered to the Naval school at Annapolis, Md. After a month's sojourn there, he sought for and obtained orders for the seat of war in the Gulf of Mexico in the line of battleship "Ohio," 84 guns, was at the Naval battery near Vera Cruz before and after the capitulation. Assisted the army division at the crossing of the Medelin river on its march to and from Alvarado, was in the expedition to Tuspan, Mexico, and at its capture, being slightly wounded while storming the shore battery nearest the town. Detached from the Ohio and ordered to the Naval academy, reporting there Jan., 1848. Graduated as passed midshipman the following July, and received three months leave of absence. At its expiration joined the frigate Raritan and served in it on the Home and Gulf station until detached in April, 1850. After three months leave, ordered to the transport "Fredonia," and conveyed from New York to Benicia, Cal., a battalion of the Fourth Infantry. Made acting master in Callao, Peru, and served as such till joining the frigate St.Lawrence at Valparaiso, Chili, when he was appointed acting lieutenant in March, 1852, and finished the cruise in this frigate, returning to Norfolk, Va. in the spring of 1853. After a short leave was ordered to the store ship Lexington and made the trip to Spezzia, Italy, returning to New York in Dec., 1853. As soon as detached, ordered to the coast survey steamer Jefferson and left Philadelphia, Feb., 1854 for San Francisco, Cal. on the 25th May of that year when about 120 miles from Penguin Island, Patagonia, and the third day of a heavy gale of wind, the vessel broached to and the masts were cut away to right her, fortunately the following night the gale broke, and the steamer the following day reached Sea Bear bay and later Port Desire river, Patagonia. Here she was surveyed and condemned as unseaworthy. The captain, officers and crew took passage in the French bark "Aristide"

to Montevideo, and from there were transferred to the store-ship Relief and conveyed to New York, arriving there Nov. 1854. Shortly after was ordered to the steamer "Legare" and served till June, 1855, surveying the Florida reef and bays. Joined the sloop of war "Saratoga" in Aug. as acting master, promoted to master, Sept. 14th, and to lieutenant, Sept. 15th, 1855. Served the entire cruise in the "Saratoga," and was in the affair at Graytown, Nicaragua, when Walker and his filibusters were captured. After a short leave of absence, joined the coast steamer Hetzel and surveyed in the North Carolina sound and Chesapeake bay until Nov., 1858, when was detached and ordered to the steamer Metacomet, fitting out for the Paraguay expedition at Pensacola, Fla., took passage to her in the steamer Arctic, arrived in Montevideo in the spring of 1859, and shortly after was ordered to the brig Dolphin and served in her until re-ordered to the steamer Pulaski (named changed from Metacomet.) Served in this steamer as watch, executive officer, lieutenant commander and senior officer of the station, except an intermission of a few months in 1861, when attached to the frigate Congress, until she was sold in Jan., 1863. Promoted to lieutenant commander, 16th July, 1862. Took passage with his wife and child in the bark John Wesley and arrived in New York in June, 1863. As soon as his accounts were settled as acting paymaster, took a trip to Niagara Falls, Thousand Islands, Montreal, Quebec, Saguenay, and White Mountains, at which latter place he received orders to the gunboat Unadilla, South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, taking passage from Boston to Charleston, S. C. in the steamer Cirassian. After a short time in command of the Unadilla at Port Royal, was ordered to command the monitor Catskill off Charleston, S. C., and was engaged in blockading the inner harbor, and at times cannonading Fort Sumpter. In Jan., 1864 returned North, his daughter having died the previous month. In March, ordered to the steamer Fort Jackson and served in the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron off Wilmington, N. C. In a few months was ordered to the line of battle ship "New Hampshire," and took her from Portsmouth, N. H. to Port Royal, S. C., returning in the "Vermont." In August, was ordered to the "Colorado" steam frigate as executive officer; served in the North Atlantic Squadron until detached in Nov., 1864. Placed on the retired list 18th March, 1865. Promoted to commander 12th May 1867. In May, 1866 he embarked with his wife and son in the bark "Ocean Pearl" and went to Montevideo, Uruguay, where he engaged in raising sheep on the Estancia Esmeralda, near Mercedes. On the breaking out of a revolution removed with his family to Buenos Ayres and resided in the city for a while, then moved to San Isidro, where he resided several years, a part of which time he cruised about the Delta of the Parana in the Chalana Luisa At the close of the Paraguayan war, he navigated from Montevideo to Rio de Janeiro and back, the steamer Villette, and subsequently commanded the steamer Angestura from Ascencion, Paraguay, to Colonia, Uruguay. In July, 1874 he ascended the Parana and Paraguay rivers to Corumba, Brazil, and at that place engaged and fitted out a party of five men, with whom he descended to the mouth of the river Negra, and was four months exploring the wilds of the Bahia Negra. Return-



THE ANSON BUTLER HOMESTEAD—RESIDENCE OF J. P. CILLEY, ROCKLAND

ed to Corumba and paid off his men, and in Jan., 1875, left for Central Bolivia, passing through Santiago, San Jose and Eguez, towns of Chequitos and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Samapata, to Sucre, one of the capitals of Bolivia. For many months he was employed making plans and estimates, and seeking from theBolivian Congress the concession of a railway from Bahia Negra to Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Congress finally passed a bill authorizing the supreme Government to make terms, but before they could be executed a revolution occurred and nothing could be done. He then proceeded on to the Pacific ocean via Misque, Cochabamba, Oruro, Tacna and Arica, where he took steamer to Valparaiso, and from that port embarked in the P. M. S. "Aconcagua" June 1875.

For many months engaged in bringing up the results of his surveys. Embarking in March, 1876 with his eldest son, Jonathan for the U. S. and remained there eight years.

Captain Cilley returned to Buenos Ayres in Jan., 1884 and resided in the capital several years, moving to the town of "Nueve de Julio" in 1891, and La Plata, Feb., 1893. In June the same year came with his son, Joseph, via. Southampton and London to the United States and visited the Columbian World's Fair Exposition at Chicago, Ill., and his relatives. Returned to Buenos Ayres in April, 1894. Married in Montevideo, Uruguay, S. A., 13th May, 1861, Malvina, daughter of Gov. Luis and Maria (Saez) Vernet of Buenos Ayres, born 5th Feb., 1830, in the Malvina Islands, otherwise called Falkland Islands. Gov. Vernet was born in Hamburg, Ger.; lived eleven years in Philadelphia and from there went to South America and married and established himself in business in Buenos Ayres. He was civil and military governor of the Malvina Islands in 1829-'31, when his colony was destroyed by Captain Duncan, commanding the U. S. sloop of war, Lexington, subsequently the English government seized his possessions and have held them ever since by right of force. Capt. Cilley had six children, three boys and three girls.

The present Gen. Jonathan Prince Cilley has well sustained the reputation of the family line for military valor and intellectual vigor. He was born in 1835 and graduated from Bowdoin College in the class of 1858. Two years later he was admitted to the practice of law before the Knox county bar, and at once formed a partnership with Lysander Hill and opened an office in Thomaston.

The practice of his profession was followed but a short time. The smouldering fires of rebellion broke over the nation and Mr. Cilley was one of the first men to spring to his country's call. In the early part of 1861 he enlisted one hundred and fifty men and his own name headed the list of volunteers. It was intended that these men should form a light battery and H. B. Humphrey of Thomaston, offering to give the six guns required, provided that the state would complete the equipment of the battery. The War Department declined the offer on the ground that infantry only was needed at that time. When, however, it was known that cavalry also was to be raised in Maine, Mr. Cilley enlisted, and his name stands first on the rolls of the First Maine Cavalry under date Sept. 3d, 1861. He was subsequently made captain of Co. B, raised by him

in the counties of Knox and Waldo, of which he remained in command until he was severely wounded in his right arm and shoulder, and taken prisoner at Middletown, Va., during the retreat of Gen. Banks from the Shenandoah Valley, May 24th, 1862. A short time after this misfortune, he received the commission of major, bearing date April 14th, 1862.

After being disabled by his wound for several months, Major Cilley was ordered by the War Department, April 1st, 1863, to report to Gen. John H. Martindale, military governor of Washington, for special duty, and on the 7th was assigned to duty as Judge Advocate and Examining officer at the Central Guard house. He remained on this duty until Aug. 1st, when, although his wound was still unhealed, he again took the field and remained with his regiment until June 24th, 1864, when he was once more wounded. He again reported for duty Sept. 24th, and took command of the regiment, having been promoted and mustered Lieut. Col., to rank from June 6th, 1864. From this time until it was finally discharged and paid at Augusta, Colonel Cilley was constantly present with and in command of his regiment and at a later date received the brevet rank of brigadier general for bravery at the battle of Dinwiddie Court House and Appomattox.

The history of the First Maine Cavalry is known to all. It was especially complimented by Gen. Sheridan and is authorized to bear the names of three more battles upon its standard than any other regiment of the army of the Potomac. This is the best evidence of his efficiency as a military leader. In his regiment Gen. Cilley was the first man that enlisted, the first man wounded, and nearly the last mustered out. He was wounded a third time at Dinwiddie Court House, but kept with his regiment. There are many anecdotes of Gen. Cilley's services. His account of the work of his regiment the night before and on the morning of Lee's surrender is given for its clear presentation of its service on that eventful day:

"The regiment moved rapidly at first, but slowly as the hours of midnight drew near and the rebel pickets drew bead on us. Back and still back we pressed them till our brigade, far from all support at the time, lay on the brow of Clover Hill before Appomattox Court House, on the road on which if he advanced at all, Lee must come out in the morning. The rebel pickets fired briskly at this point, but stopped as our advance halted. The hour was 1 a. m., April 9. We came dismounted, front into line, with the 1st Maine on the left of the road and the rest of the brigade on the right, and one regiment in reserve. Behind a slight barrier of rails, without blankets, in the cold damp air of April, we waited for morning and Gen. Lee's army. A line of dismounted videttes was thrown out in our front to give warning of approaching danger. Knowing the difficulty of placing such a line in the darkness, I personally attended to posting them, and when done a desire possessed me to learn something of the force in front. I advanced in front of the line, and stooping to prevent my body being seen against the line of the horizon, for I knew now how near the rebel videttes might be, I crept forward—well, as far as I dared. I sat on the ground and listened to the rebel teamsters in the valley below packing their wagons, with oaths and imprecations savoring of tired horses and wearied, angry men. Thought of the

Lazell, 1 yr., 8. mos. Walter, 3 yrs. Jonathan, 5 yrs.
GRANDCHILDREN OF GEN. J. P. CILLEY

morning; of what our small force could do to keep back the rebel hosts in front, not knowing that our infantry were marching all that night to take post in our rear.

"Lee's forces tired and sleepy that morning, did not wake early, and the section of artillery accompanying us moved to the brow of the hill and caused them to open their eyes that pleasant Sunday morning by dropping shot and shell into the middle of their camp. For an hour or more after sunrise, we watched a column of their cavalry move by our right, half a mile or so away. As far as we were concerned, we could see nothing of any force prepared or placed to support us. It seemed as if we were alone and the army of Lee in our front. When their skirmishers and advance came in view, never did the enemy more sluggishly come forward. Their line extended beyond ours by twice its length, but our carbines held them in check till they commenced to lap round our brigade on the right and left, and sharp firing in front told us the heavy effort made to clear this road of its cavalry curtain. Slowly they rolled us back. We received and we inflicted loss. In ten short days, of which this was the end, our regiment lost in killed and wounded of those present for duty (seven killed or mortally wounded on this day) one third its men and one-half its officers. We were too sleepy to move rapidly We were too cross to be shoved by bullets. Back from the wooded crest of Clover Hill; back over an open field and a little rise; back down a long sloping incline—straightening our line at its foot by the aid of a rail fence, and with our men in hand,—we charged up the incline or hill, to be again ordered back, and leaving one of our battery guns stalled at its foot. Back up a long rise of ground, covered with woods at the top—and the curtain of cavalry covering the last scene of the rebellion was rolled fully up, and before the astonished vision of the rebel force stood Griffin with the 5th and Ord with the 24th Corps and a part of the 25th Corps. A colored division of the latter stepped into the place of our regiment. All night long had they marched, but how refreshing the sight of their black countenances at this time. At the spectacle the rebel host staggered back, and their whole line wavered as if each particular man was terror struck. The curtain fell on four years' fighting!"

Among the classmates of Gen. Cilley were Col. Drew of Lewiston, Gen. Frank Fessenden of Portland and Hon. Edward B. Nealley of Bangor, and Gen. Ellis Spear of Washington, D. C.

Gen. Cilley is now seventy years of age, but excellently preserved. He is still in the harness and practicing law with his wife's son, Edward B. Burpee, in Rockland. He has been twice married, and two children have come to bless his home. The son, Jonathan P., Jr., is now deceased, but the daughter, Mrs. Walter G. Tibbetts, now residing in Alameda, Cal., and her bright and handsome children have been photographed for this article.

JONATHAN LONGFELLOW

The Father of Sarah, Wife of General Joseph Cilley

[By John Scales, A. M.]

Jonathan Longfellow was born May 23, 1714, at Hampton Falls; he died in 1774 at Machias, Me.; so he was only sixty years old, but during those three score years he was one of the busiest men in New Hampshire. His father, Nathan Longfellow, was born in 1690, the youngest of six children, being born while his father, Ensign William Longfellow, was away on a military expedition, under Governor Phips, to capture Quebec. They did not capture that city, but instead lost some of the fleet by shipwreck on Anticosti Island, and also several lives were lost, among whom was Ensign Longfellow.

William Longfellow was born at Horsforth, Eng., in 1651, so when he died in 1690 he was not quite forty years old. He came to Newbury, Mass., about 1670, and married Ann Sewall in 1678 and resided at Newbury the rest of his years, engaged in trade, keeping a store at the first falls of Parker river, at the head of tide water in that town. Concerning his ancestors in England, the Rev. Robert Collyer wrote an interesting article a few years ago. Mr. Collyer had recently visited the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, which visit caused him to write of the poet's early ancestors in England, who lived in the same section of the country as Collyer's ancestors. In passing it may be well to state that the great poet was fifth in descent from the immigrant William, through Stephen Longfellow, the blacksmith; Stephen Longfellow, the schoolmaster; Stephen Longfellow, the judge; and Stephen Longfellow, one of Maine's great lawyers. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's grandfather, Stephen the Judge, was cousin to Jonathan the Judge, the subject of this paper. William Longfellow, the immigrant, was son of William, grandson of Edward, great-grandson of Thomas and great-greatgrandson of Percival Longfellow, who was born about A. D. 1500. Rev. Robert Collyer, English born, but one of the greatest preachers America has had, often visited the poet Longfellow. After one of these visits he wrote:

"One reason for our meetings was that we might wander together in thought through the green lanes, past the neat hedgerows and over the grassy meadows that were familiar to the feet of his ancestors three hundred years ago. I had sat in the same old churches they did; I had wondered, as they had at the old warrior in his armor of chain mail; I had stood at the same

font at which the child (William the immigrant) was baptized, from whom our good poet had sprung; and in the old churchyard the dust of his forefathers lay side by side with that of mine.

"The old home was Ilkley, in Yorkshire. I have copies of the old charters and surveys of the town that date back almost to the Conquest, but no Longfellow appears before 1510, and then within ten miles of Ilkley. Those Longfellows were simply sons of the soil. The first one mentioned was a day laborer, and he paid four pence as his share to help Henry VIII. fight against France. Later those Longfellows became church wardens and overseers of highways, and gradually climbed to higher places.

"Those ancient Longfellows were as purely bits of nature as the oaks in the woods or the heather on the hillside. They had a certain old Saxon insistence upon what they believed was their right. They believed that game belonged to them as much as the great lords and landowners, hence the Longfellows were leaders in raids on game. It was the fight of the Saxon against the Norman. Our Longfellow is the flower of all the centuries of his family history, and he makes the race immortal."

Jonathan Longfellow's mother was Mary Green, daughter of Capt. Jacob Green and grand-daughter of Judge Henry Green, who was the earliest owner of the falls, at Hampton Falls river, where he built and the family for four generations owned a grist-mill, and a saw-mill, where now are the mills owned by Mrs. John W. Dodge. It was in the house near these mills that Jonathan Longfellow was born. Henry Green held various offices in the town and province, being Justice of the Court of Common Sessions; Royal Councellor, 1685-1698, and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, 1697-1698. His son, Capt. Jacob Green, was prominent in town affairs and captain of a military company from 1699 to 1720, a period when the Indians and French made the office of captain anything but a sinecure position.

Jonathan Longfellow's grandmother, Ann Sewall, was sister to Judge Samuel Sewall one of Massachusetts' most distinguished jurists of the Colonial period. She was born while her parents were on the voyage across the Atlantic, it being their second passage. Her father, Henry Sewall, Jr., and grandfather, Henry Sewall, Sr., were the chief men in founding Newbury, Mass., being very wealthy and staunch Puritans. Ann Sewall's great grandfather, Henry Sewall, was mayor of Coventry, Eng., 1589-1606, being a very wealthy linen draper, whose ancestry is traced back to before the Conquest, to a Saxon Thane who spelled his name "Saswald," and owned great possessions in lands and at the place of his residence built and owned a church. Mayor Sewall died in 1628.

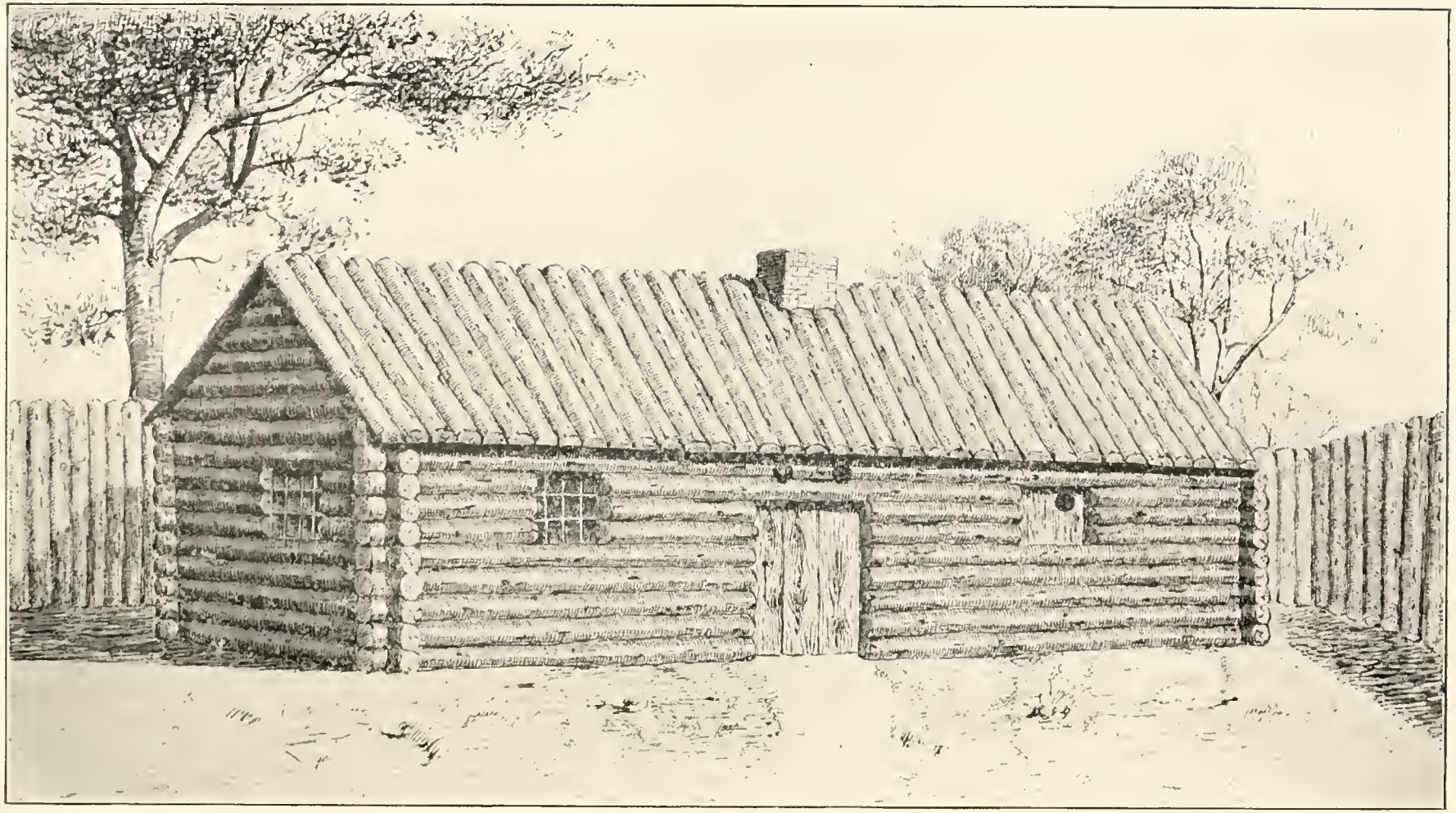
Such were the ancestors of Jonathan Longfellow. He was a well-born, thoroughbred Englishman. Being the eldest of Nathan Longfellow's children, he was the pet of his grandfather, Capt. Jacob Green and at an early age was instructed in the management of the grist-mill and the saw-mill, which the captain owned at the Falls, and his education otherwise was carefully looked after. When Jonathan was twelve years old his grandfather died, leaving the larger part of his large property to his daughter, Mary Longfellow. When

Jonathan was seventeen years old his father died, which entailed large business interests on the widow, but she managed all with skill and good judgment, being assisted by her oldest son, Jonathan. A few months before he was eighteen years old he became united in marriage with Mercy Clark, who was of the same age as himself. They commenced housekeeping with his mother, and he managed the mills and the farm. Thus nearly ten years of his life was passed, busily and happily, and he was known as "Jonathan Longfellow, the Miller."

Just a few lines about Mercy Clark, his wife. She was born in Newbury, Mass., December 26, 1714, where she resided till she married and settled at Hampton Falls. She was a daughter of Mr. Henry Clark and his wife, Elizabeth Greenleaf. Henry was the son of Ensign Nathaniel Clark of Rowley and Elizabeth Somerby, his wife. Nathaniel was naval officer at Newbury and Salem for several years. He was ensign of the Rowley company of militia, which went with Sir William Phips on the expedition to Quebec in 1690, the same in which Ensign William Longfellow lost his life. While at sea, before reaching the St. Lawrence river, Ensign Clark lost his life by accident.

Mercy Clark's mother, Elizabeth Greenleaf was a daughter of Capt. Stephen Greenleaf, Jr., and Elizabeth Gerrish, his wife; and he was the son of Capt. Stephen Greenleaf, Sr., and his wife, Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of Judge Tristram Coffin of Newbury and Nantucket. Captain Stephen, Sr., commanded a company of Newbury men in Sir William Phips' expedition of 1690, already mentioned. He was shipwrecked on Anticosti Island, with Ensign Longfellow, but managed to get home alive. These Greenleafs were distinguished in military and civil affairs in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Greenleaf Whittier, the poet, was a great-grandson of Capt. Stephen Greenleaf, Jr. Such were the ancestors of Mercy Clark Longfellow.

Mary Green Longfellow died about 1741, and her death made it necessary to divide the property which had been held nearly intact from the death of her father, Capt. Jacob Green, in 1726. Soon after the death of his mother, Jonathan Longfellow's name appears in the records relating to Nottingham, and for more than a score of years he resided in that part of the town, now Deerfield, but which was not made a separate town till he had removed to Rye. He was a land speculator and was one of the active promoters in settling the town of Nottingham, together with the Bartletts, the Cilleys, the Batchelders, the Butlers, the Marstons and other noted families of that town, in its early history. Soon after going there his name appears as an officer of the militia, which was required to keep guard against attacks by Indians, and before he left the town he had risen to be captain. The first thing he had to do, when he went to Nottingham to settle, was to build a garrison, which he located on a little hill on the opposite side of the road from the present Marston residence, about half a mile below Deerfield Parade. This location was then on the frontier of civilization. Between that and Canada on the north there was not the habitation of a white man. Through that vast wilderness the Indians and their allies, the French, ruthless foes of the English settlements, came and were ever on the watch, during that period, to strike blows of destruction or to in-



THE GARRISON—THE FIRST HOUSE BUILT IN DEERFIELD.

flict as much loss of property as possible. Hence it is plain to be seen that Captain Longfellow and his brave wife had no easy task on that frontier guard-line. They were young people then, just past thirty years of age, with a family of six children, the eldest being ten years old. Accompanying this article is a picture of that old garrison, which was torn down only a few years ago. The garrison was the first house built in what is now Deerfield. The farm, one of the best in town was first owned by a Mr. Leavitt, for about six months, who then sold it to Jonathan Longfellow, receiving in payment a certain number of Negro slaves. Where Longfellow got the slaves, or how he happened to be dealing in such property the writer has not been able to find out; but the probability is that they came from Africa on some of those Newburyport or Salem ships which exported New England rum to the Dark Continent and exchanged it for young Negroes. Sometimes the ship masters carried their cargoes of black men and women to the West Indies and exchanged them for sugar and molasses, which they brought home. At other times they brought them home direct and sold them in Massachusetts and New Hampshire towns. From 1740 till after the close of the Revolution slaves were owned in nearly all the larger towns in New Hampshire. Captain Longfellow, being an enterprising and hustling business man, bought and sold the slaves. He did not give all he had to Leavitt, as he had some left after he built and dwelt in the garrison. His sons-in-law, Joseph Cilley and Nathaniel Batchelder, had some of them after he had removed from the town. Some of the descendants of those slaves live in Exeter now, worthy citizens, unmindful of their ancestry.

The garrison house was very long and wide, but rather low story. It had three large rooms and two smaller bedrooms on the first floor; ascent to the roof was made through the immense garret by ladders, from which observations could be made to all points of compass, to watch the approach of any enemy. The garret was used for a general storeroom, and for sleeping apartments when the guests were numerous, as, no doubt, they often times were. The walls were made of hewn timbers, of great size. The rooms, except the kitchen, were ceiled at the top and sides with sheathing, sawed from old timber pines of immense size. In the period of Indian wars it had a stockade which enclosed a large yard; these timbers standing on end reached above the eaves of the house, so nothing of the outer world could be seen. There was a large gate to the stockade for admittance to the yard. When this was closed it was fastened on the inside with a strong bar, so everything was safe when that was closed. This yard would enclose teams, if necessary; it had sheltered many a family in time of danger from the Indians. At one time a family living in the vicinity of Rand's Corner, by the name of Batchelder, was forced to flee to this garrison. The family consisted of a husband, wife and two children. One bright moonlight night, while the husband and children slept, the wife sat by the fire knitting; she heard a noise in front of the house, which sounded suspicious. She hastily covered the fire with ashes, blew out the candle and awakened her husband with the least possible noise. In a few moments a noise at the front door indicated plainly that the Indians were about the house. Knowing that it

would be folly to attempt to defend their home, they wrapped the younger child in blankets and took the older by the hands and, seizing the trusty gun, they quietly made their escape through the back door to the forest near at hand, and hastened to the Longfellow garrison. They succeeded in getting inside of that big gate and barred it securely, though the wife was nearly exhausted. Their house was burned by the Indians, but they found a safe shelter at the garrison, together with several other families who had suffered in the same Indian raid.

Col. Joseph Cilley, who was born in 1793, was grandson of General Joseph and Sarah Longfellow Cilley. She died in 1811, so that he remembered his grandmother perfectly. Colonel Cilley lived to be past ninety years of age, and in his later days delighted to talk of his grandmother. He said he had visited the old garrison with her, in which she lived during Indian times with her parents. One thing that impressed his boyish mind strongly was the huge chimney, with the immense fireplaces, in the corners of which one or two could sit comfortably. The kitchen had a dresser, so called, which filled the place of the modern sideboard. Its capacious shelves were filled with shining pewter platters and plates and other household utensils. The floors were sanded with white sea sand and were kept scrupulously clean. When company was to be entertained the white sand was switched into pretty figures with hemlock brooms, by the skillful hands of the housewife or her maids.

During the period from 1745 to 1760 the Indians made frequent raids in that territory, stealing or killing cattle and horses. They cut the flesh from the bones and cut out the tongues, which they cured in smoke to preserve for food on their travels. Frequently it was dangerous for housewives to go out to milk the cows unless they had a man on guard with a trusty gun. When one neighbor visited another an armed man had to go with her for protection.

From the Nottingham town records it appears that, "At a meeting of the Proprietors, held at the block house (on the Square), September 8, 1742, Mr. Jonathan Longfellow was chosen Assessor for the Proprietors, and Lieut. Joseph Cilley, Collector." These gentlemen continued to hold those offices for several years in succession. Later they were brothers-in-law, Lieutenant Cilley's son, Joseph, the famous colonel of the Revolution, marrying Mr. Longfellow's daughter, Sarah, November 4, 1756.

Again, August 12, 1752, the records say: "Ensign Jonathan Longfellow was elected one of the Selectmen; also was appointed one of a committee to treat with authorities of the town of Durham relative to building a highway from Nottingham Square to Durham village."

Frequently, in 1747, 1748 and 1749, the Provincial Government stationed soldiers at Longfellow's garrison and placed him in command. It was their duty to range back and forth over a line fifteen miles in length, through the forests from Rochester to Chester, and to give protection to the farmers. Sometimes as many as thirty soldiers were on duty. The following from the Provincial Records will give an idea of how Gov. Benning Wentworth and his Councillors conducted the war with the Indians and French. It is copied from the Journal of the House.

"Saturday 29th August, 1747. Whereas

Capt. Jonathan Longfellow, by a warrant from ye Governor has Inlisted thirty men to go out after ye Indians, upon ye Scalp bounty. But representing to the House that ye men cannot furnish themselves with Provisions and Ammunition, therefore:

"Voted, That Sd Longfellow be supplied with one month's Provisions & fifteen pounds of powder & thirty Pounds of Bullets for Sd men. he to receive the Provisions from Coll. Gilman at Exeter, Sd Longfellow to give a Rect for ye same & to account and pay therefor if it appears Yt be not used, or if the men recover any scalps, ye price of ye Provisions and Ammunition to be deducted out of ye Bounty on ye Scalps, & Yt Said Longfellow keep a Journal of ye Time & Travel, while he is out on this affair, to be rendered to ye Genl Assembly on Oath."

The writer has not been able to find a copy of Captain Longfellow's journal nor any statement of how many Indian scalps were captured and the amount of bounty paid.

Captain Longfellow was one of the first to start a movement which resulted in the division of the town of Nottingham, and the incorporation of the town of Deerfield. The act of incorporation was not granted till January 8, 1766, at which time Mr. Longfellow was in Machias, Me., having left New Hampshire two years before that. The first petition for it is dated "Nottingham, Febry 23, 1756;" the first signer is Jonathan Longfellow; among the other signers appears the name of Green Longfellow, a younger brother of Jonathan, who was then about twenty-five years old, having been born April 3, 1731. The petition was probably drawn by Mr. Longfellow and its arguments are strong and well expressed, the point of it all being that the inhabitants of the Deerfield parish were not allowed to use their money raised by taxation "for Preaching the Gospel and teaching the Children, which are matters of Great importance to all His Majesties Good Subjects, etc."

Mr. Longfellow removed from Nottingham to Rye about 1761, leaving two of his daughters, Mary and Sarah, who had married respectively Nathaniel Batchelder and Joseph Cilley, and a son, Jacob, and a brother, Green Longfellow. Mary Longfellow Batchelder, above mentioned, is the writer's great-grandmother, being the grandmother of his mother, Betsey True Scales. Not much is known of his life at Rye.

Captain Longfellow removed from Rye, N. H., to Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, in 1764, where he remained one year. In 1765 they sent for him to cross over the bay to Machias, Me., to build a grist-mill and a saw-mill, locally called the "Dublin" mills. He knew all about that sort of work from his early training and experience at Hampton Falls, where he had been trained by his father and grandfather. What induced him to emigrate from New Hampshire to Nova Scotia is not known by any of his descendants. After settling in Machias he remained there till his death, in 1774. He brought with him to Machias his wife and three youngest sons, Daniel, David and Jonathan, aged respectively sixteen, fourteen and nine years. Two or three of his children remained at Cornwallis. There were twelve in all, seven sons and five daughters. The first-born was Stephen, 19 July, 1731; the last-born was Jonathan, 28 April, 1756, who died young at Machias. Descendants of two sons, Nathan, born 30 December, 1743, and Daniel, born 16 December, 1751, are living in Machias

and other parts of eastern Maine at this time.

Captain Longfellow built the mills and run them and took a leading part in town affairs, holding at one time or another all of the important town offices. In 1768 he was commissioned by the Governor of Massachusetts a justice, and held the first court ever held in Maine, east of the Penobscot river. The court records of Judge Longfellow are extant at Machias, and manifest knowledge of law and wisdom and mercy in administering it. He was moderator of the first proprietary meeting of the town of Machias, 11th September, 1770, and was one of their leading men till his death, four years later.

According to tradition, Judge Longfellow was a tall, well-proportioned, fine-looking man. He possessed superior mental powers and was a man of great executive ability as a business manager. He was an extensive landowner in Nottingham and was reputed to be very wealthy, as men then ranked in riches. He disposed of all of his holdings in that town before going to Nova Scotia. That he was esteemed by his immediate descendants is manifest by the fact that grandsons, great-grandsons, and great-great-grandsons were named for him, Jonathan Longfellow, in families not otherwise bearing the Longfellow name.

HENRY A. WISE'S ACCOUNT OF THE DUEL

The following extracts from an article by Hon. John S. Wise in the Saturday Evening Post of June 2, 1906, gives informatian concerning Henry Clay's connection with the affair of Cilley and Graves, which, though alleged, has never until this account been fully proved. Only that part of the article is given which relates to Jonathan Cilley :

The most serious of my father's experiences in dueling was that in the famous Cilley and Graves duel, into which he was dragged, against his will, to act as second for a man he knew but slightly and for whom he really cared nothing.

The Honorable Jonathan Cilley, a gallant, impetuous, high-tempered man, entered Congress from Maine with the oft-avowed feeling that the members of Congress from the North allowed the Southern members to hector and lord it over them too freely—that they ought to respond to such attaeks in kind, and that, when they had done so a few times, such arrogance would cease.

The following account of my father's connection with the affair is copied from an original manuscript drawn up by him and, as late as 1875, submitted to and approved by his lifelong friend, the Honorable George W. Jones, of Iowa, who was Mr. Cilley's second. It is valuable because it has never before been published, and is instructive because it shows some of the points of finesse in the science of dueling. It is not published in full because of sundry strictures upon James Watson Webb, which only tend to revive bitterness:

"According to my recollection I was not at Washington, but at home in Accomac, Virginia, when the speech of Cilley was made and published. I returned to Washington after the time when Webb engaged Mr. Graves' services as a second and put the challenge into Graves' hands, and he, Graves, had delivered it. At no time did I ever confer with Webb about the matter, either alone or with Mr. Graves or others. He knew nothing of my advice or counsel to Mr. Graves.

"But whether I had returned to Washington or not, I positively aver that the challenge was delivered to Graves and by him delivered to Cilley, without any knowledge or information of the fact on my part. It was only after the challenge was tendered that I was informed by Mr. Graves or any one else of its existence. I learned from Mr. Graves himself, who sought my counsel, all I ever knew, or was informed of before the fight, of what occurred between him, and Mr. Cilley on the presentation of the challenge. Mr. Graves' statement to me was in brief and in substance as follows: He said, as soon as

he obtained a private interview with Mr. Cilley, he announced the object of his visit. He (Mr. Cilley) showed no surprise and seemed to be prepared for the call. He immediately declined to accept the challenge, on the sole ground that he would not admit his responsibility for words spoken by him in debate in the House. Mr. Graves asked him to say whether he declined on the ground that his principal, James Watson Webb, was not a gentleman. Mr. Cilley replied that he would not affirm or disclaim any reason other than that he was not responsible for words spoken by him in debate in the House. Mr. Graves then inquired whether that was his only ground of declining. Mr. Cilley replied that the only ground he chose to stand upon was his irresponsibility to an editor for words spoken in debate in the House. Mr. Graves asked him whether that meant to disclaim any other ground. Mr. Cilley repeated that he meant not to affirm or disclaim any other ground.

"Mr. Graves informed me that, upon this, he reported to his principal that Mr. Cilley did not put his refusal to accept on the ground that James Watson Webb was not a gentleman but upon the sole ground stated. My advice to him was that the reason expressed was sufficient, but some one else advised (whom I am not and never was informed) that he ought to require Mr. Cilley to put his reason for declining in writing. I told him that was regular and proper, but advised him to the preferable course to report his own statement and submit it to Mr. Cilley for affirmance or contradiction: that as Mr. Cilley put his declining on the ground solely of irresponsibility, he was justified in saying that he did not put it on the ground of Webb's character or any other ground, and that he had no right to demand of him a disclaimer of any other ground. Upon this Mr. Graves drew a paper in substance, reciting his statement, and adding that, upon that, he had reported and would publish, if necessary, that Mr. Cilley had not declined on the ground that Webb was not a gentleman. What he did with that paper I am not and never was informed; but he returned it to me saying that he could not prevail on Mr. Cilley to affirm or to deny his statement, or to put his only reason assigned for declining in writing.

"I told him neither was necessary, as he had only to make and publish his statement that Mr. Cilley did not put himself on the ground that Webb was not a gentleman, and leave the latter to acquiesce in or contradict his statement. If he acquiesced in it, well; if not, it would raise an issue of veracity between him and Mr. Cilley, and I was sure that Mr. Cilley would disclaim any impeachment of his, Graves', veracity, whilst he could easily explain any reservation of his right to express any other reason but the one assigned. Mr. Graves had in fact drawn a challenge on the ground that Mr. Cilley's course impliedly, at least, impeached his veracity, but after conference with me alone he asked me to meet him at Mr. Clay's room early in the evening.

"After tea, I called with Mr. Graves on Mr. Clay, and already assembled there were Mr. Clay, Mr. John J. Crittenden and Mr. Richard Menefee. They were all consulted. Mr. Graves handed to Mr. Clay the challenge he had written. Mr. Clay said immediately that the call was not based on the true issues. Mr. Cilley had refused to disclaim personal exceptions to Webb and by the Code of Dueling Graves was

bound to demand such disclaimer, or stand in the shoes of his principal. He cast aside the challenge drawn by Graves, and with his own hand and pen drew the challenge which was handed to Mr. Cilley. I immediately objected to the form drawn by Mr. Clay, for the reason that it put the call upon a punctilio which never could be and never was settled without blood; that if Mr. Graves put his call on the point of his own veracity, Mr. Cilley had but to disclaim that, and I was sure he would, and that would end Graves' interposition in the affair. Mr. Crittenden and Mr. Menefee sided with Mr. Clay. Mr. Graves immediately copied the paper written by Mr. Clay, the original of which I have kept, and Mr. Graves destroyed the form of challenge written by himself.

"I then declined to bear the note drawn by Mr. Clay for reason of my stated objection. It left no room for adjustment or explanation and the meeting would necessarily be fatal. Messrs. Clay, Crittenden and Menefee all three protested with me for declining to act as second; and I persisted until Mr. Graves with great feeling rose erect on his feet from his chair, and said: 'Mr. Wise, can you expect me to be governed by your counsel alone against that of both the Senators of my state and colleague in the House of Representatives, Mr. Menefee, after a full hearing of your objections to the ground of challenge,and after they have been overruled by older heads than your own? If you do,' he continued, with his finger pointed to me, 'I call these colleagues to remember that when you were absent from your seat in the House, and from the city of Washington, I took up your defense against an attack upon you by Mr. Cilley and was ready to stand in your place to meet any and all responsibility for you.' [Note: Nothing in the printed debate shows this alleged fact.] 'And now I here say to you that I have more confidence in your skill as second than I have in any other person; and if you will not serve me and I am brought dead or wounded from the field, I call these gentlemen to witness that I shall attribute any disaster to me to the want or absence of your skill and experience.'

"I was touched deeply by this appeal and said at once with emotion: 'Mr. Graves, if you put your request to act for you on that ground, I am left no election. I will carry the challenge.'

"I did so the next morning, and was careful to keep Mr. Clay's autograph original—and it was well I did so, as after events proved. You promptly brought the acceptance by Mr. Cilley and the terms of the duel to me at my room. I was alone, with my case of new English nine-inch dueling-pistols open, examining their order and condition. You quietly tapped at my door. I answered, 'Come in,' and I can see your honest old face now, as you entered brusquely, saying: 'Ha! You'll have no use for them.' You looked at the pistols and then handed me the acceptance and terms. I reserved any reply then, and after a little chat about the rifle as a lawful weapon and my ignorance where to procure a reliable one, you retired.

"I sought Mr. Graves and told him that I should object to the rifle. He again took me to Mr. Clay. At once Mr. Clay said: 'He is a Kentuckian and can never back from a rifle.' . .

"What occurred afterward, on the field and elsewhere, our joint and several statements made immediately after-

the duel show. But there was one subject of reproach to you and myself, which neither could explain without damaging our principals. Mr. Graves had three seconds, Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Menefee and myself; and Mr. Cilley had two advisory seconds, Mr. Duncan and Mr. Bynum, besides yourself. Now, no step was taken by me without consultation and agreement with Messrs. Crittenden and Menefee; and I am confident that you acted with the consent and approval of Messrs. Duncan and Bynum. These four gentlemen were just as responsible for the whole conduct of the affair as you and I, yet you and I alone were ever assailed for the 'barbarous three exchanges of shots.' Now you and I know that there was really but one deliberate exchange of shots; the third time after each party, in turn—Cilley in his first shot and Graves in his second—had blundered in his fire, and they would not and could not leave the ground under the accidents which would have caused misapprehension and perhaps ridicule. . . . ."

But the Cilley-Graves duel made a tremendous storm throughout the country. Nothing was done about it officially, for dueling was countenanced, more or less, but it fas a long time before the bitterness and recrimination about the Cilley-Graves duel subsided. It was brought up against Clay in his next candidacy, and his attempts to shuffle off responsibility upon others caused a breach between him and my father, who charged him with selfishly seeking to relieve himself from the odium of a duel for which he, more than any living man, was responsible.

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